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# ROBINSON CRUSOE,

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*W. Hawkins, sc.*

Printed for C. COOKE, Paternoster Row. 1793.

Vide Vol. I. Page 48

# THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

*By DANIEL DE FOE.*

Cooke's Edition.

VOL. II.

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# LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Geo: Reynolds 1799.

## VOLUME THE SECOND.

I AM now to be ſuppoſed to be retired into my caſtle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and ſecured under water as uſual, and my condition reſtored to what it was before; I had more wealth indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more uſe for it, than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came thither.

It was one of the nights in the rainy ſeaſon in March, the four-and-twentieth year of my firſt ſetting foot in this iſland of ſolitarineſs, I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, very well in health, had no pain, no diſtemper, no uneaſineſs of body, no, nor any uneaſineſs of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means cloſe my eyes; that is, ſo as to ſleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwiſe than as follows—

It is as impoſſible as needleſs, to ſet down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole hiſtory of my life in miniature, or by abridgement, as I may call it, to my coming to this iſland; and alſo of that part of my life ſince I came to this iſland; in my reflections upon the ſtate of my caſe, ſince I came on ſhore on this iſland, I was comparing the happy poſture of my affairs, in the firſt years of my habitation here, to that courſe of anxiety, fear and care, which I had lived in ever ſince I had ſeen the print of a foot in the ſand; not that I did not believe the ſavages had frequented the iſland even all the while, and might have been ſeveral hundred of them at times on ſhore there; but as I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehenſions about it, my

ſatisfaction

ſatisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the ſame; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been expoſed to it; this furniſhed my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one—'How infinitely good that Pro-
'vidence is, which has ſettled in its government of
'mankind ſuch narrow bounds to his ſight and know-
'ledge of things; and though he walks in the midſt of
'ſo many thouſand dangers, the ſight of which, if diſ-
'covered to him, would diſtract his mind, and ſink his
'ſpirits, he is kept ſerene and calm, by having the
'events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing no-
'thing of the dangers which ſurround him.'

After theſe thoughts had for ſome time entertained me, I came to reflect ſeriouſly upon the real danger I had been in for ſo many years in this very iſland; and how I had walked about in the greateſt ſecurity, and with all poſſible tranquillity, even when perhaps nothing but a brow of an hill, a great tree, or the caſual approach of night, had been between me and the worſt kind of deſtruction; viz. that of falling into the hands of canibals and ſavages, who would have ſeized on me with the ſame view as I did a goat or a turtle, and have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlieu; I ſhould unjuſtly ſlander myſelf, if I ſhould ſay I was not ſincerely thankful to my Great Preſerver, to whoſe ſingular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all theſe unknown deliverances were due, and without which I ſhould inevitably have fallen into their mercileſs hands.

When theſe thoughts were over, my head was for ſome time taken up in conſidering the nature of theſe wretched creatures; I mean the ſavages; and how it came to paſs in the world, that the Wiſe Governor of all things ſhould give up any of his creatures to ſuch inhumanity, nay, to ſomething ſo much below even brutality itſelf, as to devour its own kind: but as this ended in ſome (at that time fruitleſs) ſpeculations, it

occurred

occurred to me to enquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coaſt was from whence they came; what they ventured ſo far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myſelf, and my buſineſs ſo, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never ſo much as troubled myſelf to conſider, what I ſhould do with myſelf when I came thither; what ſhould become of me, if I fell into the hands of the ſavages; or how I ſhould eſcape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor ſo much as how it was poſſible for me to reach the coaſt, and not be attempted by ſome or other of them, without any poſſibility of delivering myſelf; and if I ſhould not fall into their hands, what I ſhould do for proviſion, or whither I ſhould bend my courſe; none of theſe thoughts, I ſay, ſo much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my paſſing over in my boat to the main land: I looked back upon my preſent condition, as the moſt miſerable that could poſſibly be; that I was not able to throw myſelf into any thing but death that could be called worſe; that if I reached the ſhore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief; or I might coaſt along, as I did on the ſhore of Africa, till I came to ſome inhabited country, and where I might find ſome relief, and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with ſome Chriſtian ſhip that might take me in; and if the worſt came to the worſt, I could but die, which would put an end to all theſe miſeries at once. Pray note, all this was the fruit of a diſturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, deſperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the diſappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been ſo near the obtaining what I ſo earneſtly longed for, viz. ſomebody to ſpeak to, and to learn ſome knowledge from, of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance: I ſay, I was agitated wholly by theſe thoughts. All my calm of mind in my reſig-

nation to Providence, and waiting the iſſue of the diſpoſitions of Heaven, ſeemed to be ſuſpended; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing, but the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with ſuch force, and ſuch an impetuoſity of deſire, that it was not to be reſiſted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with ſuch violence, that it ſet my very blood into a ferment, and my pulſe beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it; nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhauſted with the very thought of it, threw me into a ſound ſleep: one would have thought I ſhould have dreamed of it; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it; but I dreamed, that as I was going out in the morning, as uſual, from my caſtle, I ſaw upon the ſhore two canoes, and eleven ſavages coming to land, and that they brought with them another ſavage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when, on a ſudden, the ſavage that they were going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life; then I thought in my ſleep, that he came running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himſelf; and that I, ſeeing him alone, and not perceiving that the others ſought him that way, ſhewed myſelf to him, and ſmiling upon him, encouraged him: that he kneeled down to me, ſeeming to pray me to aſſiſt him; upon which I ſhewed my ladder, made him go up it, and carried him into my cave, and he became my ſervant; and that as ſoon as I had gotten this man, I ſaid to myſelf—

'Now I may certainly venture to the main land; for 'this fellow will ſerve me as a pilot, and will tell me 'what to do, and whither to go for proviſions, and 'whither not to go for fear of being devoured; what 'places to venture into, and what to eſcape.' I waked with this thought, and was under ſuch inexpreſſible impreſſions of joy at the proſpect of my eſcape in my dream, that the diſappointments which I felt upon coming to myſelf, and finding it was no more than a

dream,

dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of ſpirit.

Upon this, however, I made this concluſion; that my only way to go about an attempt for an eſcape, was, if poſſible, to get a ſavage in my poſſeſſion; and, if poſſible, it ſhould be one of their priſoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and ſhould bring hither to kill; but theſe thoughts ſtill were attended with this difficulty, that it was impoſſible to effect this, without attacking a whole body of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very deſperate attempt, and might miſcarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly ſcrupled the lawfulneſs of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of ſhedding ſo much blood, though it was for my deliverance: I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me againſt this, they being the ſame mentioned before; but though I had other reaſons to offer now, viz. that thoſe men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was ſelf-preſervation, in the higheſt degree, to deſtroy them, and that I ſhould be acting in my own defence, as much as if they were actually aſſaulting me, and the like; I ſay, though theſe things argued for it, yet the thoughts of ſhedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and ſuch as I could by no means reconcile myſelf to a great while.

However, at laſt, after many ſecret diſputes with myſelf, and after great perplexities about it (for all theſe arguments, one way and another, ſtruggled in my head a long time) the eager prevailing deſire of deliverance at length maſtered all the reſt; I reſolved, if poſſible, to get one of theſe ſavages into my hands, coſt what it would: my next thing then was to contrive how to do it; and this, indeed, was very difficult to reſolve on; but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, ſo I reſolved to put myſelf upon the watch, to ſee them when they came on ſhore, and leave the reſt to the event, taking ſuch meaſures as the opportunity ſhould preſent, let them be what they might.

With theſe reſolutions in my thoughts, I ſet myſelf upon the ſcout, as often as poſſible, and indeed ſo often till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for a great part of that time went out to the weſt end, and to the ſouth-weſt corner of the iſland, almoſt every day, to look for canoes, but none appeared: this was very diſcouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I cannot ſay that it did in this caſe as it had done ſome time before that, viz. wear off the edge of my deſire to execute my deſigns; but the longer it ſeemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: in a word, I was not at firſt more careful to avoid being ſeen by theſe ſavages, than I was now eager to attack them.

Beſides, I fancied myſelf able to manage one, nay, two or three ſavages, if I had them, ſo as to make them entirely ſlaves to me, to do what ever I ſhould direct them, and to prevent their being able, at any time, to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleaſed myſelf with this affair, but nothing ſtill preſented; all my fancies and ſchemes came to nothing, for no ſavages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained theſe notions, and, by long muſing, had, as it were, reſolved them all into nothing, for want of an occaſion to put them into execution, I was ſurprized one morning early, with ſeeing no leſs than five canoes all on ſhore together, on my ſide the iſland, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my ſight: the number of them broke all my meaſures; for ſeeing ſo many, and knowing that they always came four, or ſix, or ſometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my meaſures to attack twenty or thirty men ſingle handed; ſo I lay ſtill in my caſtle, perplexed, and diſcomfited; however, I put myſelf into all the ſame poſtures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was juſt ready for action, if any thing had preſented: having waited a good while, liſtening to hear if they made any noiſe, at length being very im

patient,

patient, I ſet my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by two ſtages, as uſual; ſtanding ſo, however, that my head did not appear above the hill; ſo that they could not perceive me by any means: here I obſerved, by the help of my perſpective glaſs, that they were no leſs than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dreſſed; how they cooked it, that I know not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous geſtures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perſpective two miſerable wretches dragged from the boats, where it ſeems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the ſlaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I ſuppoſe, with a club or wooden ſword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left ſtanding by himſelf, till they ſhould be ready for him: in that very moment this poor wretch ſeeing himſelf a little at liberty, nature inſpired him with hopes of life, and he ſtarted away from them, and ran with incredible ſwiftneſs along the ſands, directly towards me; I mean towards that part of the coaſt where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frighted (that I muſt acknowledge) when I perceived him run my way; and eſpecially when, as I thought, I ſaw him purſued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to paſs, and that he would certainly take ſhelter in my grove; but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the reſt of it; viz. that the other ſavages would not purſue him thither, and find him there: however, I kept my ſtation, and my ſpirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and ſtill more was I encouraged, when I found that he outſtript them exceedingly in running

ning, and gained ground of them, ſo that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I ſaw eaſily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my caſtle the creek, which I mentioned often at the firſt part of my ſtory, when I landed my cargoes out of the ſhip; and this I knew he muſt neceſſarily ſwim over, or the poor wretch would be taken: but when the ſavage, eſcaping, came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up; but plunging in, ſwam through in about thirty ſtrokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding ſtrength and ſwiftneſs; the three purſuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could ſwim but the third could not, and that he, ſtanding on the other ſide, looked at the other, but went no farther, and ſoon after went ſoftly back again; which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I obſerved that the two who ſwam, were yet more than twice as long ſwimming over the creek than the fellow was that fled from them; it came now very warmly into my thoughts, and indeed irreſiſtibly, that this was the time to get a ſervant, and perhaps a companion or aſſiſtant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to ſave this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders with all poſſible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladder, as I obſerved before; and getting up again with the ſame haſte to the top of the hill, I croſſed towards the ſea; and, having a very ſhort cut, and all down hill, clapped myſelf in the way between the purſuers and the purſued, hallooing aloud to him that fled; who, looking back, was at firſt perhaps as much frighted at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and in the mean time I ſlowly advanced towards the two that followed; then ruſhing at once upon the foremoſt, I knocked him down with the ſtock of my piece; I was loth to fire, becauſe I would not have the reſt hear; though at that

diſtance

diſtance it would not have been eaſily heard; and being out of ſight of the ſmoke too, they would not have eaſily known what to make of it.

Having knocked this fellow down, the other who purſued him ſtopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived preſently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to ſhoot at me; ſo I was then neceſſitated to ſhoot at him firſt; which I did, and killed him at the firſt ſhot. The poor ſavage who fled, but had ſtopped, though he ſaw both his enemies fallen, and killed, (as he thought) yet was ſo frighted with the fire and noiſe of my piece, that he ſtood ſtock ſtill, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he ſeemed rather inclined to fly ſtill than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made him ſigns to come forward, which he eaſily underſtood, and came a little way, then ſtopped again, and then a little farther, and ſtopped again; and I could then perceive that he ſtood trembling, as if he had been taken priſoner, and had juſt been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the encouragement I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve ſteps, in token of acknowledgement for ſaving his life. I ſmiled at him, looked pleaſantly, and beckoned him to come ſtill nearer. At length he came cloſe to me, and then kneeled down again, and kiſſed the ground, and laid his head upon it, and taking me by the foot, ſet my foot upon his head: this, it ſeems, was in token of ſwearing to be my ſlave for ever. I took him up, made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the ſavage, whom I knocked down, was not killed, but ſtunned with the blow, and began to come to himſelf: ſo I pointed to him, and ſhewed him the ſavage, that he was not dead; upon this he ſpoke ſome words to me, and though I could not underſtand them, yet I thought they were pleaſant to hear, for they were the firſt ſound of a man's

voice

voice that I had heard (my own excepted) for above five-and-twenty years: but there was no time for ſuch reflections now: the ſavage, who was knocked down, recovered himſelf ſo far, as to ſit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my ſavage began to be afraid; but when I ſaw that, I preſented my other piece at the man, as if I would ſhoot him: upon this my ſavage, for ſo I called him now, made a motion to me to lend him my ſword, which hung naked in a belt by my ſide; ſo I did: he no ſooner had it, but he ran to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head ſo cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it ſooner or better; which I thought very ſtrange for one, who I had reaſon to believe, never ſaw a ſword in his life before, except their own wooden ſwords; however, it ſeems, as I learned afterwards, they made their wooden ſwords ſo ſharp, ſo heavy, and the wood ſo hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, aye, and arms, and that at one blow. When he had done this, he came laughing to me in ſign of triumph, and brought me the ſword again; and with abundance of geſtures, which I did not underſtand, laid it down, with the head of the ſavage that he had killed, juſt before me.

But that which aſtoniſhed him moſt was, to know how I had killed the other Indian ſo far off; ſo pointing to him, he made ſigns to me to let him go to him: ſo I bade him go as well as I could. When he came to him, he ſtood like one amazed, looking at him; turned him firſt on one ſide, then on the other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it ſeems, was juſt in his breaſt, where it had made an hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. He then took up his bow and arrows, and came back; ſo I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow, making ſigns to him, that more might come after them.

Upon this he ſignified to me, that he ſhould bury them with ſand, that they might not be ſeen by the reſt, of they followed; and ſo I made ſigns again t him to do

ſo.

ROBINSON CRUSOE. VOL. II. P. 12.
Friday's return to Robinson Crusoe, with the head of the Savage he had killed.

Allen, del. Engraved for C. Cooke, Pater-Noster Row. Aug.t 1st 1793. Saunders, sc.

ſo. He fell to work, and in an inſtant had ſcraped an hole in the ſand with his hands, large enough to bury the firſt in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him; and did ſo alſo by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour. Then calling him away, I took him not to my caſtle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the iſland; ſo I did not let my dream come to paſs in that part, viz. that he came into my grove for ſhelter.

Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raiſins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great diſtreſs for by his running; and having refreſhed him, I made ſigns for him to go lie down and ſleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-ſtraw, and a blanket upon it, which I uſed to ſleep upon myſelf ſometimes; ſo the poor creature lay down, and went to ſleep.

He was a comely, handſome fellow, perfectly well made, with ſtraight long limbs, not too large; tall, and well-ſhaped; and, as I reckon, about twenty-ſix years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and ſurly aſpect, but ſeemed to have ſomething very manly in his face, and yet he had all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of an European in his countenance too, eſpecially when he ſmiled: his hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and ſparkling ſharpneſs in his eyes. The colour of his ſkin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow, nauſeous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind, of a dun olive colour, that had in it ſomething very agreeable, though not very eaſy to deſcribe. His face was round and plump, his noſe ſmall, not flat like the Negroes; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well ſet, and white as ivory. After he had ſlumbered, rather than ſlept, about half an hour, he waked again, and came out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the incloſure juſt by. When

he

he eſpied me, he came running to me, laying himſelf down again upon the ground, with all the poſſible ſigns of an humble, thankful diſpoſition, making many antic geſtures to ſhew it. At laſt he laid his head flat upon the ground cloſe to my foot, and ſet my foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this made all the ſigns to me of ſubjection, ſervitude, and ſubmiſſion imaginable, to let me know how much he would ſerve me as long as he lived. I underſtood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleaſed with him. In a little time I began to ſpeak to him, and teach him to ſpeak to me; and firſt, I made him know his name ſhould be Friday, which was the day I ſaved his life, and called him ſo for the memory of the time; I likewiſe taught him to ſay 'Maſter,' and then let him know that was to be my name; I likewiſe taught him to ſay *Yes* and *No*, and to know the meaning of them; I gave him ſome milk in an earthen pot, and let him ſee me drink it before him, and ſop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made ſigns that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night, but as ſoon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him ſome cloaths, at which he ſeemed very glad, for he was ſtark-naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the ſpot, and ſhewed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making ſigns to me that we ſhould dig them up again, and eat them; at this I appeared very angry, expreſſed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately with great ſubmiſſion. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to ſee if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glaſs, I looked and ſaw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their canoes; ſo that it was plain they were gone, and had left their two comrades

behind

behind them, without any ſearch after them. However, I was not content with this diſcovery: but having now more courage, and conſequently more curioſity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the ſword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could uſe very dexterouſly, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myſelf, and away we marched to the place where thoſe creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get ſome fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran cold in my veins, and my heart ſunk within me at the horror of the ſpectacle. Indeed it was a dreadful ſight, at leaſt it was ſo to me, though Friday made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of fleſh left here and there half eaten, mangled, and ſcorched; and, in ſhort, all the tokens of the triumphant feaſt they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I ſaw three ſkulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his ſigns, made me underſtand, that they brought over four priſoners to feaſt upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himſelf, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whoſe ſubjects, it ſeems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of priſoners, all of whom were carried to ſeveral places by thoſe that had taken them in the fight, in order to feaſt upon them, as was done here by theſe wretches upon thoſe they brought hither.

I cauſed Friday to gather all the ſkulls, bones, fleſh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on an heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to aſhes. I found Friday had ſtill a hankering ſtomach after ſome of the fleſh, and was ſtill a canibal in his nature; but I diſcovered ſo much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the leaſt appearance of it,

that

that he durſt not diſcover it; for I had, by ſome means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our caſtle, and there I ſet to work for my man Friday; and firſt of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's cheſt I mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's ſkin, as well as my ſkill would allow, for I was now grown a tolerable good taylor; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of an hare-ſkin, very convenient, and faſhionable enough: and thus he was dreſſed, for the preſent, tolerably well, and highly was he pleaſed to ſee himſelf almoſt as well cloathed as his maſter. It is true, he went aukwardly in theſe things at firſt: wearing the drawers was very aukward to him, and the ſleeves of the waiſtcoat galled his ſhoulders and the inſide of his arms; but by letting them out a little, and a farther practiſing their uſe, they became eaſy and familiar to him.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to conſider where I ſhould lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly eaſy myſelf, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inſide of the laſt, and in the outſide of the firſt: and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door caſe, and a door to it of boards, and ſet it up in the paſſage, a little within the entrance; and cauſing the door to open on the inſide, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; ſo that Friday could no way come at me in the inſide of my innermoſt wall, without making ſo much noiſe in getting over, that it muſt needs awaken me; for my firſt wall had now a compleat roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the ſide of the hill, which was again laid acroſs with ſmall ſticks inſtead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickneſs with the rice ſtraw, which was

ſtrong like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the out-ſide, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noiſe; and as to weapons, I took them all in to my ſide every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, ſincere ſervant, than Friday was to me; without paſſions, ſullenneſs, or deſigns; perfectly obliging and engaging; his very affections were tied to me, like thoſe of a child to a father, and I dare ſay, he would have ſacrificed his life for the ſaving mine, upon any occaſion whatſoever. The many teſtimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt; and ſoon convinced me, I needed not to uſe any precautions as to my ſafety on his account.

This frequently gave me occaſion to obſerve, and that with wonder, that however it had pleaſed God in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from ſo great a part of the world of his creatures, the beſt uſes to which their faculties and the powers of their ſouls are adapted; yet that he has beſtowed upon them the ſame powers, the ſame reaſon, the ſame affections, the ſame ſentiments of kindneſs and obligation, the ſame paſſions and reſentments of wrongs, the ſame ſenſe of gratitude, ſincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us; and that when he pleaſes to offer them occaſions of exerting theſe, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uſes for which they are beſtowed, than we are. And this made me very melancholy ſometimes, in reflecting, as the ſeveral occaſions preſented, how mean an uſe we make of all theſe powers enlightened by the great lamp of inſtruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his Word, added to our underſtanding; and why it has pleaſed God to hide the like ſaving knowledge from ſo many ſouls, who, if I might judge by this poor ſavage, would make a much better uſe of it than we did?

From hence I ſometimes was led too far to invade the ſovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the juſtice of ſo arbitrary a diſpoſition of things, that ſhould hide that light from ſome, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both. But I checked my thoughts with this concluſion: Firſt, That we do not know by what light and law theſe ſhould be condemned; but that, as God was neceſſarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and juſt, ſo it could be, but that if theſe creatures were all ſentenced to abſence from himſelf, it was on account of ſinning againſt that light, which, as the Scripture ſays, 'was a law to 'themſelves,' and by ſuch rules as their conſciences would acknowledge to be juſt, though the foundation was not diſcovered to us. And, ſecondly, That ſtill, as we are all clay in the hand of the potter, no veſſel could ſay to him—'Why haſt thou formed me thus?

But to return to my new companion. I was greatly delighted to teach him every thing that was proper to make him uſeful, handy, and helpful: but eſpecially to make him ſpeak, and underſtand me when I ſpoke; and he was the apteſt ſcholar that ever was; and particularly was ſo merry, ſo conſtantly diligent, and ſo pleaſed when he could but underſtand me or make me underſtand him, that it was very pleaſant to me to talk to him; and now my life became ſo eaſy, that I began to ſay to myſelf, that could I but have been ſafe from more ſavages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my caſtle, I thought, that, in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the reliſh of a canibal's ſtomach, I ought to let him taſte other fleſh; ſo I took him out with me one morning to the woods; I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dreſs it: but, as I was going, I ſaw a ſhe-goat lying down in the ſhade, and two young kids ſitting by her. I catched hold of Friday—'Hold, (ſaid I) ſtand ſtill,' and made ſigns to him not

not to ſtir. Immediately I preſented my piece, ſhot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had at a diſtance, indeed, ſeen me kill the ſavage, his enemy, but did not know, or could imagine, how it was done, was ſenſibly ſurprized, trembled, and ſhook and looked ſo amazed, that I thought he would have ſunk down. He did not ſee the kid I had ſhot at, or perceive I had killed it, but ripped up his waiſtcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, preſently, thought I was reſolved to kill him; for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, ſaid a great many things I did not underſtand, but I could eaſily ſee that his meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I ſoon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laughed, at and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did: and while he was wondering and looking to ſee how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by-and-by I ſaw a great fowl, like a hawk, ſit upon a tree within ſhot; ſo, to let Friday underſtand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I ſay, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him ſee I would make him fall, I made him underſtand that I would ſhoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bid him look, and immediately he ſaw the parrot fall. He ſtood like one frighted again, notwithſtanding all I had ſaid to him; and I found he was the more amazed, becauſe he did not ſee me put any thing into the gun; but thought there muſt be ſome wonderful fund of death and deſtruction in that thing, able to kill man, beaſt, bird, or any thing near or far off; the aſtoniſhment this created in him was ſuch, as he could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worſhipped me and my gun: as for my gun itſelf, he would not ſo

much as touch it for ſeveral days after; but would ſpeak to it, and talk to it, as if it had anſwered him, when he was by himſelf; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to deſire it not to kill him.

Well, after his aſtoniſhment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had ſhot, which he did, but ſtaid ſome time; for the parrot not being quite dead, was fluttered a good way off from the place where ſhe fell; however, he found her, took her up and brought her to me; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him ſee me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might preſent; but nothing more offered at that time: ſo I brought home my kid, and the ſame evening I took the ſkin off, and cut it out as well as I could, and having a pot for that purpoſe, I boiled or ſtewed ſome of the fleſh, and made ſome very good broth; after I had begun to eat ſome, I gave ſome to my man, who ſeemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was ſtrangeſt to him was, to ſee me eat ſalt with it. He made a ſign to me, that the ſalt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own month, he ſeemed to nauſeate it, and would ſpit and ſputter at it, waſhing his mouth with freſh water after it; on the other hand, I took ſome meat in my mouth without ſalt, and I pretended to ſpit and ſputter for want of ſalt, as faſt as he had done at the ſalt; but it would not do, he would never care for ſalt with meat, or in his broth; at leaſt, not for a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was reſolved to feaſt him the next day with roaſting a piece of the kid; this I did by hanging it before the fire in a ſtring, as I had ſeen many people do in England, ſetting two poles up, one on each ſide the fire, and one acroſs on the top, and tying the ſtring to the croſs ſtick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired very much; but when he came to taſte the fleſh, he took ſo many ways to tell me how well he

liked

liked it, that I could not but underſtand him: and at laſt he told me he would never eat man's fleſh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I ſet him to work to beating ſome corn out, and ſifting it in the manner I uſed to do, as I obſerved before; and he ſoon underſtood how to do it as well as I, eſpecially after he had ſeen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of: for after that I let him ſee me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myſelf.

I began now to conſider, that having two mouths to feed inſtead of one, I muſt provide more ground for my harveſt, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I uſed to do; ſo I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the ſame manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very willingly, and very hard, but did it very chearfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn to make more bread, becauſe he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myſelf too. He appeared very ſenſible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account, than I had for myſelf, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleaſanteſt year of all I had ſpent in this place: Friday began to talk pretty well, and underſtand the names of almoſt every thing I had occaſion to call for, and of every place I had to ſend him to, and talk a great deal to me; ſo that, in ſhort, I began now to have ſome uſe for my tongue again, which, indeed, I had very little occaſion for before; that is to ſay, about ſpeech. Beſides the pleaſure of talking to him, I had a ſingular ſatisfaction in the fellow himſelf; his ſimple unfeigned honeſty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and on his ſide, I believe, he loved me more than it was poſſible for him ever to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering in-

clination to his own country again; and having learned him Engliſh ſo well, that he could anſwer me almoſt any queſtions; I aſked him, whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle. At which he ſmiled, and ſaid 'Yes, yes, we always fight the better!' that is, he meant, always get the better in fight; and ſo we began the following diſcourſe. 'You always 'fight the better! (ſaid I) how came you to be taken 'priſoner then, Friday?'

FRIDAY. My nation beat much for all that.

MASTER. How beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

FRIDAY. They more than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me. My nation over-beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation take one, two, great touſand.

MASTER. But why did not your ſide recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

FRIDAY. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time.

MASTER. Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them, as theſe did?

FRIDAY. Yes, my nation eat mans too; eat all up.

MASTER. Where do they carry them?

FRIDAY. Go to other place where they think.

MASTER. Do they come hither?

FRIDAY. Yes, yes, they come hither; come other elſe place.

MASTER. Have you been here with them?

FRIDAY. Yes, I been here. (Points to the N.W. ſide of the iſland, which, it ſeems, was their ſide.)

By this I underſtood, that my man Friday had formerly been among the ſavages, who uſed to come on ſhore on the farther part of the iſland, on the ſame man-eating occaſions that he was now brought for; and

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ſome time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that ſide, being the ſame I formerly mentioned, he preſently knew the place, and told me, he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child. He could not tell twenty in Engliſh, but he numbered them by laying ſo many ſtones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this paſſage, becauſe it introduces what follows; that after I had had this diſcourſe with him, I aſked him, how far it was from our iſland to the ſhore, and whether the canoes were not often loſt: he told me there was no danger, no canoes ever loſt; but that after a little way out to ſea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I underſtood to be no more than the ſets of the tide, as going out or coming in; but I afterwards underſtood it was occaſioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty River Oroonoque; in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterwards, our iſland lay; and that this land, which I perceived to the W. and N. W. was the great iſland Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river: I aſked Friday a thouſand queſtions about the country, the inhabitants, the ſea, the coaſt, and what nations were near; he told me all he knew, with the greateſt openneſs imaginable: I aſked him the names of the ſeveral nations of his ſort of people, but could get no other name than the Caribs, from whence I eaſily underſtoood, that theſe were the Caribees, which our maps place on that part of America that reaches from the mouth of the River Oroonoque to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha: he told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the ſetting of the moon, which muſt be weſt from their country, there dwelt white.bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great wiſkers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed much mans (that was his word:) by which I underſtood he meant the Spaniards, whoſe cruelties in America had

been

been ſpread over the whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to ſon.

I enquired if he could tell me how I might come from this iſland, and get among thoſe white men; he told me, yes, yes, I might go in two canoe; I could not underſtand what he meant by two canoe; till at laſt, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it muſt be in a large great boat as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's diſcourſe began to reliſh with me very well; and from this time I entertained ſome hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my eſcape from this place, and that this poor ſavage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to ſpeak to me, and underſtand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind; particularly, I aſked him one time, who made him? The poor creature did not underſtand me at all, but thought I had aſked who was his father; but I took it by another handle, and aſked him, who made the ſea, the ground he walked on, and the hills and wood? He told me, it was one old Benamuckee that lived beyond all. He could deſcribe nothing of this great perſon, but that he was very old; much older he ſaid, than the ſea or the land, than the moon or the ſtars. I aſked him then, if this old perſon had made all things, why did not all things worſhip him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence ſaid—'All things ſay O to him.' I aſked him, if the people who died in his country went away any where. He ſaid, yes, they all went to Benamuckee. Then I aſked him, whether thoſe they eat up went thither too. He ſaid, yes.

From theſe things I began to inſtruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him, that the Great Maker of all things lived there, pointing up towards Heaven: that he governs the world by the ſame power and providence by which he made it; that he was omnipotent; could do every thing for us; give every thing to us, take every thing from us; and thus, by degrees,

I opened his eyes: he liſtened with great attention, and received with pleaſure the notion of Jeſus Chriſt being ſent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into Heaven. He told me, one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the ſun, he muſt needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt, to ſpeak to him. I aſked if ever he went thither to ſpeak to him. He ſaid, no, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowookakee, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious or clergy: and that they went to ſay O, (ſo he called ſaying prayers) and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee ſaid. By this I obſerved, that there is prieſtcraft even among the moſt blinded ignorant pagans in the world, and the policy of making a ſecret religion, in order to preſerve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the moſt brutiſh and barbarous ſavages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man Friday, and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to ſay O to their god Benamuckee, was a cheat, and their bringing word from thence what he ſaid, was much more ſo; that if they met with any anſwer, or ſpoke with any one there, it muſt be with an evil ſpirit: and then I entered into a long diſcourſe with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion againſt God, his enmity to man, the reaſon of it, his ſetting himſelf up in the dark parts of the world to be worſhipped inſtead of God, and as God; and the many ſtratagems he made uſe of to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had a ſecret acceſs to our paſſions, and to our affections, to adapt his ſnares ſo to our inclinations, as to cauſe us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our own deſtruction by our own choice.

I found it was not ſo eaſy to imprint right notions in his mind about the devil, as it was about the being of a God: nature aſſiſted all my arguments to evince to him even the neceſſity of a great Firſt Cauſe, and over-ruling governing Power, a ſecret directing Providence, and of the equity and juſtice of paying homage to him that made us, and the like: but there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil ſpirit, of his original, his being, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to do evil, and to draw us in to do ſo too; and the poor creature puzzled me once in ſuch a manner, by a queſtion merely natural and innocent, that I ſcarce knew what to ſay to him. I had been talking a great deal to him of the power of God, his omnipotence, his dreadful averſion to ſin, his being a conſuming fire to the workers of iniquity; that as he had made us all, he could deſtroy us, and all the world, in a moment; and he liſtened with great ſerioufneſs to me all the while.

After this, I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and uſed all his malice and ſkill to defeat the good deſigns of Providence, and to ruin the kingdom of Chriſt in the world, and the like. 'Well (ſays Friday) but you ſay, God 'is ſo ſtrong, ſo great, is he not much ſtrong, much 'might, as the devil?—'Yes, yes, (ſaid I) Friday, 'God is ſtronger than the devil; God is above the 'devil; and therefore we pray to God to tread him un-'der our feet, and enable us to reſiſt his temptations, 'and quench his fiery darts.' 'But (ſays he again) if 'God much ſtrong, much might as the devil, why 'God not kill the devil, ſo make him no more wicked?'

I was ſtrangely ſurprized at his queſtion; and, after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill enough qualified for a caſuiſt, or a ſolver of difficulties: and, at firſt I could not tell what to ſay; ſo I pretended not to hear him, and aſked him what he ſaid: but he was too earneſt for an anſwer to forget his queſtion; ſo that he repeated it in the very

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ſame broken words as above. By this time I had recovered myſelf a little, and I ſaid—'God will at laſt 'puniſh him ſeverely, he is reſerved for the judgment, 'and is to be caſt into the bottomleſs pit, to dwell with 'everlaſting fire.' This did not ſatisfy Friday, but he returned upon me, repeating my words—'Reſerve 'at laſt, me no underſtand: but why not kill the devil 'now, not kill great ago?'—'You may as well aſk 'me, (ſaid I) why God does not kill you and me, 'when we do wicked things here that offend him: we are 'preſerved to repent and be pardoned.' He muſed awhile at this; 'Well, well! (ſays he) very affec-'tionately;' 'that well! ſo you, I, devil, all wick-'ed, all preſerve, repent, God pardon all!' Here I was run down again by him to the laſt degree, and it was a teſtimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reaſonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worſhip or homage due to the ſupreme being of God, as the conſequence of our nature; yet nothing but Divine Revelation can form the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and of a redemption purchaſed for us; of a mediator, of a new covenant, and of an interceſſor at the footſtool of God's throne; I ſay, nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form theſe in the ſoul; and that therefore the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I mean, the word of God, and the Spirit of God, promiſed for the guide and ſanctifier of his people, are the abſolutely neceſſary inſtructors of the ſouls of men in the ſaving knowledge of God and the means of ſalvation.

I therefore diverted the preſent diſcourſe between me and my man, riſing up haſtily, as upon ſome ſudden occaſion of going out; then ſending him for ſomething a great way off, I ſeriouſly prayed to God, that he would enable me to inſtruct ſavingly this poor ſavage, aſſiſting by his Spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Chriſt, reconciling him to himſelf, and would guide

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me to ſpeak ſo to him from the Word of God, as his conſcience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his ſoul ſaved: when he came again to me, I entered into a long diſcourſe with him upon the ſubject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the Goſpel preached from Heaven; viz. of repentance towards God, and faith in our bleſſed Lord Jeſus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our bleſſed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of Abraham, and how for that reaſon the fallen angels had no ſhare in the redemption; that he came only to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael, and the like.

I had, God knows, more ſincerity than knowledge, in all the methods I took for this poor creature's inſtruction; and muſt acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the ſame principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and inſtructed myſelf, in many things that either I did not know, or had not fully conſidered before; but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my ſearching into them for the information of this poor ſavage; and I had more affection in my enquiry after things upon this occaſion, than ever I felt before; ſo that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reaſon to be thankful that ever he came to me; my grief ſat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond meaſure; and when I reflected, that in this ſolitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myſelf to look up to Heaven, and to ſeek to the hand that brought me thither, but was now to be made an inſtrument, under Providence to ſave the life, and for aught I know, the ſoul of a poor ſavage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Chriſtian doctrine, that he might know Chriſt Jeſus, to know whom is life eternal; I ſay, when I reflected upon all things, a ſecret joy ran through every part of my ſoul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I

was brought to this place, which I had often thought the moſt dreadful of all afflictions that could poſſibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the converſation which employed the hours between Friday and me was ſuch, as made the three years which we lived there together, perfectly and compleatly happy, if any ſuch thing as compleat happineſs can be found in a ſublunary ſtate. The ſavage was now a good Chriſtian, a much better than I; though I have reaſon to hope, and bleſs God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted, reſtored penitents: we had here the Word of God to read, and were no farther off from his Spirit to inſtruct, than if we had been in England.

I always applied myſelf to reading the Scripture, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his ſerious enquiries and queſtions, made me, as I ſaid before, a much better ſcholar in the Scripture-knowledge, than I ſhould ever have been by my own mere private reading: another thing I cannot refrain from obſerving here alſo from experience in this retired part of my life, viz. how infinite and inexpreſſible a bleſſing it is, that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of ſalvation by Chriſt Jeſus, is ſo plainly laid down in the Word of God, ſo eaſy to be received and underſtood that as the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of underſtanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of ſincere repentance for my ſins, and laying hold of a Saviour for life and ſalvation, to a ſtated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or inſtructor, (I mean human,) ſo the plain inſtruction ſufficiently ſerved to the enlightening this ſavage creature, and bring him to be ſuch a Chriſtian, as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to the diſputes, wranglings, ſtrife, and contention, which have happened in the world about religion,

whether niceties in doctrines, or ſchemes of church-government, they were all perfectly uſeleſs to us; as for aught I can yet ſee, they have been to all the reſt in the world: we had the ſure guide to Heaven, viz. the Word of God; and we had, bleſſed be God, comfortable views of the Spirit of God, teaching and inſtructing us by his word, 'leading us into all truth,' and making us both willing and obedient to the inſtruction of his word; and I cannot ſee the leaſt uſe that the greateſt knowledge of the diſputed points in religion, which have made ſuch confuſions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it. But I muſt go on with the hiſtorical part of things, and take every part in its order.

After Friday and I becamemore intimately acquainted, and that he could underſtand almoſt all I ſaid to him, and ſpeak fluently, though in broken Engliſh, to me; I acquainted him with my own ſtory, or at leaſt ſo much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long. I let him into the myſtery (for ſuch it was to him) of gunpowder and bullets, and taught him how to ſhoot; I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with; and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, ſuch as in England we wear hangers in; and in the frog, inſtead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in ſome caſes, but much more uſeful upon many occaſions.

I deſcribed to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worſhipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ſhips to all the parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and ſhewed him, as near as I could, the place where ſhe lay; but ſhe was all beaten in pieces long before, and quite gone.

I ſhewed him the ruins of our boat, which we loſt when we eſcaped, and which I could not ſtir with my whole ſtrength then, but was now fallen almoſt all to pieces. Upon ſeeing this boat, Friday ſtood muſing a

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great while, and ſaid nothing; I aſked him what it was he ſtudied upon. At laſt, ſays he—" Me ſee ſuch boat like come to place at my Nation."

I did not underſtand him for ſome time; but at laſt when I had examined farther into it, I underſtood by him, that a boat ſuch as that had been come on ſhore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather. I preſently imagined, that ſome European ſhip muſt have been caſt away upon their coaſt, and the boat might get looſe, and drive aſhore; but was ſo dull, that I never once thought of men making eſcape from a wreck thither, much leſs whence they might come; ſo I only enquired after a deſcription of the boat.

Friday deſcribed the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to underſtand him, when he added, with ſome warmth—" We ſave the white mans " from drown." I then aſked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat? " Yes," he ſaid, " the boat full of white mans." I aſked him, how many: he told me upon his fingers ſeventeen. I aſked him then what became of them. He told me—" They live, they dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts into my head again; for I preſently imagined that theſe might be the men belonging to the ſhip that was caſt away in ſight of my iſland, as I now call it; and who, after the ſhip was ſtruck on the rock, and they ſaw her inevitably loſt, had ſaved themſelves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild ſhore among the ſavages.

Upon this, I enquired of him more critically, what was become of them: he aſſured me they lived ſtill there, that they had been there about four years, and that the ſavages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I aſked him, how it came to paſs they did not kill them, and eat them. He ſaid—" No, they make brother with " them;" that is, as I underſtood him, a truce; and then he added, " They eat no mans but when make the " war fight:" that is to ſay, they never eat any

men, but ſuch as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this, ſome conſiderable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, from whence, as I have ſaid, I had, in a clear day, diſcovered the main or continent in America; Friday, the weather being ſerene, looked very earneſtly towards the main land, and, in a kind of ſurprize, fell to jumping and dancing, and calling out to me, for I was at ſome diſtance from him: I aſked him what was the matter. "O joy!" ſays he; "O glad! There, ſee my country, "there my nation!"

I obſerved an extraordinary ſenſe of pleaſure appeared in his face, his eyes ſparkled, and his countenance diſcovered a ſtrange eagerneſs, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again: and this obſervation brought many thoughts into my mind which made me at firſt not ſo eaſy about my new man Friday as I was before; and I made no doubt, but that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligations to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back, perhaps, with an hundred or two of them, and make a feaſt upon me, at which he might be as merry as he uſed to be with thoſe of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honeſt creature very much, for which I was very ſorry afterwards; however, as my jealouſy increaſed, and held me ſome weeks, I was a little more circumſpect, and not ſo familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honeſt grateful creature having no thoughts about him, but what conſiſted of the beſt principles, both as a religious Chriſtian, and as a grateful friend; as appeared afterwards to my full ſatisfaction.

Whilſt my jealouſy of him laſted, you may be ſure I was every day pumping him, to try if he would diſcover any of the new thoughts which I ſuſpected were in him; but I found every thing he ſaid was ſo honeſt,

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and ſo innocent, that I could not diſcover any thing to nouriſh my ſuſpicion; and, in ſpite of all my uneaſineſs, he made me at laſt entirely his own again; nor did he in the leaſt perceive that I was uneaſy, and therefore I could not ſuſpect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the ſame hill, but the weather being hazy at ſea, ſo that we could not ſee the Continent, I called to him, and ſaid, "Friday, do not you wiſh "yourſelf in your own country, your own nation?"—"Yes," he ſaid, "I be much O glad to be at my own "nation"—"What would you do there?" ſaid I, "would you turn wild again, eat man's fleſh again, "and be a ſavage as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and ſhaking his head, ſaid, "No, no, "Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray "God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-fleſh, milk; "no eat man again."—"Why then," ſaid I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then ſaid, "No, they no kill me, they willing "love learn." He meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I aſked him, if he would go back to them. He ſmiled at that, and told me he could not ſwim ſo far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go with him. "I go!" ſaid I; "why they "will eat me if I come there."—"No, no," ſays he, "me make them no eat you, me make they much love "you." He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and ſaved his life, and ſo he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to the ſeventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on ſhore in diſtreſs.

From this time, I confeſs, I had a mind to venture over, and ſee if I could poſſibly join with theſe bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards or Portugueſe; not doubting but, if I could, we might find ſome method to eſcape from thence, being upon the continent,

and a good company together, better than I could from an iſland forty miles off the ſhore, and alone, without help; ſo, after ſome days, I took Friday to work again, by way of diſcourſe; and told him, I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly I carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other ſide of the iſland; and having cleared it of water, (for I always kept it ſunk in the water) I brought it out, ſhewed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a moſt dexterous fellow at managing it, would make it go almoſt as ſwift and faſt again as I could: ſo when he was in, I ſaid to him, "Well, now, "Friday, ſhall we go to your nation?" He looked very dull at my ſaying ſo; which, it ſeems, was becauſe he thought the boat too ſmall to go ſo far. I told him then I had a bigger; ſo the next day, I went to the place where the firſt boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water; he ſaid that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three and twenty years there, the ſun had ſplit and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday told me, ſuch a boat would do very well, and would carry much enough vittle, drink, bread; that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time ſo fixed upon my deſign of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we ſhould go and make one as big as that, and he ſhould go home in it. He anſwered not one word, but looked very grave and ſad. I aſked him what was the matter with him? He aſked me again thus: "Why "you angry mad with Friday? what me done?" I aſked him what he meant: I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry! no angry!" ſays he, repeating the words ſeveral times; "why ſend Fri-"day home away to my nation?"—"Why," ſaid I, "Friday, did you not ſay you wiſhed you were there?" —"Yes, yes," ſays he, "wiſh be both there; no wiſh "Friday there, no maſter there." In a word, he would not think of going there without me. "I go

"there,

" there, Friday?" ſaid I: "what ſhould I do there?" He turned very quick upon me at this; "You do great deal much good," ſays he: "you teach wild mans be "good, ſober, tame mans: you tell them know God, "pray God, and live new life."—"Alas! Friday," ſaid I, "thou knoweſt not what thou ſayeſt: I am but "an ignorant man myſelf."—"Yes, yes," ſays he, "you teachee me good, you teechee them good." —"No, no, Friday," ſaid I, "you ſhall go without "me: leave me here to live by myſelf, as I did before." He looked confuſed again at that word; and running to one of the hatchets which he uſed to wear, he took it up haſtily and gave it me. "What muſt I do with this?" ſaid I to him. "You take kill Friday," ſays he, "What muſt I kill you for?" ſaid I again. He returns very quick, "What you ſend Friday away for? "Take kill Friday, no ſend Friday away." This he ſpoke ſo earneſtly, that I ſaw tears ſtand in his eyes. In a word, I ſo plainly diſcovered the utmoſt affection in him to me, and a firm reſolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never ſend him away from me, if he was willing to ſtay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his diſcourſe, a ſettled affection to me, and that nothing ſhould part him from me, ſo I found all the foundation of his deſire to go to his own country, was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing, which, as I had no notion of myſelf, ſo I had not the leaſt thought, intention, or deſire of undertaking it; but ſtill I found a ſtrong inclination to my attempting an eſcape, as above, founded on the ſuppoſition gathered from the former diſcourſe, viz. that there were ſeventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large perigua or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the iſland to have built a little fleet, not of periguas and canoes only, but even of good large veſſels: but the main thing I looked at, was to get one ſo near

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the water, that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the miſtake I committed at firſt.

At laſt, Friday pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I, what kind of wood was fitteſt for it; nor can I tell to this day what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fuſtick, or between that and the nicaragua-wood, for it was much of the ſame colour and ſmell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it into a boat; but I ſhewed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which, after I ſhewed him how to uſe, he did very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finiſhed it, and made it very handſome, eſpecially when with our axes, which I ſhewed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outſide into the true ſhape of a boat; after this, however, it coſt us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water: but when ſhe was in, ſhe would have carried twenty men with great eaſe.

When ſhe was in the water, and though ſhe was ſo big; it amazed me to ſee with what dexterity and how ſwift my man Friday could manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; ſo I aſked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her. "Yes," he ſaid, he ven-
" ture over in her very well, though great blow wind."
However, I had a farther deſign, that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a maſt and ſail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a maſt, that was eaſy enough to get; ſo I pitched upon a ſtraight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was great plenty of in the iſland; and I ſet Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to ſhape and order it; but as to the ſail that was my particular care. I knew I had old ſails, or rather pieces of old ſails enough; but as I had had them now twenty-ſix years by me, and had not been very careful to preſerve them, not imagining that I ſhould ever have this kind of uſe for them,

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I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and indeed moſt of them were ſo; however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with theſe I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and aukward tedious ſtitching, (you may be ſure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a ſhoulder-of-mutton ſail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little ſhort ſprit at the top, ſuch as uſually our ſhips long-boats ſail with, and ſuch as I beſt knew how to manage, becauſe it was ſuch an one as I uſed in the boat in which I made my eſcape from Barbary, as related in the firſt part of my ſtory.

I was near two months performing this laſt work, viz. rigging and fitting my maſt and ſails; for I finiſhed them very compleat, making a ſmall ſtay, and a ſail or foreſail to it, to aſſiſt if we ſhould turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the ſtern of her, to ſteer with; and though I was but a bungling ſhipwright, yet as I knew the uſefulneſs and even neceſſity of ſuch a thing, I applied myſelf with ſo much pains to do it, that at laſt I brought it to paſs, though, conſidering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it coſt me almoſt as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a ſail and a rudder, and was the moſt amazed when he ſaw me work the boat to-and-again in the ſea by the rudder, and how the ſail gibbed, and filled this way or that way, as the courſe we ſailed changed; I ſay, when he ſaw this, he ſtood like one aſtoniſhed and amazed; however, with a little uſe, I made all theſe things familiar to him, and he became an expert ſailor, except that as to the compaſs, I could make him underſtand very little of that. On the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and ſeldom or never any fogs in thoſe parts, there was the leſs occaſion for a compaſs, ſeeing the ſtars were always

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to be ſeen by night, and the ſhore by day, except in the rainy ſeaſons; and then nobody cared to ſtir abroad, either by land or ſea.

I was now entered on the ſeven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three laſt years, that I had this creature with me, ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the reſt of my time. I kept the anniverſary of my landing here with the ſame thankfulneſs to God for his mercies as at firſt; and if I had ſuch cauſe of acknowledgment at firſt, I had much more ſo now, having ſuch additional teſtimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and ſpeedily delivered; for I had an invincible impreſſion upon my thoughts that my deliverance was at hand, and that I ſhould not be another year in this place. However, I went on with my huſbandry, digging, planting, fencing, as uſual; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every neceſſary thing, as before.

The rainy ſeaſon was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more with-in-doors than at other times: ſo I had ſtowed our new veſſel as ſecure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I ſaid in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ſhip; and hauling her up to the ſhore, at high-water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, juſt big enough to hold her, and juſt deep enough to give her water enough to float in; and then when the tide was out, we made a ſtrong dam acroſs the end of it, to keep the water out; and ſo ſhe lay dry, as to the tide, from the ſea; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees ſo thick, that ſhe was as well thatched as an houſe; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I deſigned to make my adventure.

When the ſettled ſeaſon began to come in, as the thought of my deſign returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the firſt thing I did was to lay up a certain quantity of proviſion, being the ſtore for the voyage; and intended in a week or a fort-

night's

night's time to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was buſy one morning upon ſomething of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the ſea-ſhore, and ſee if he could find a turtle or tortoiſe, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the ſake of the eggs as well as the fleſh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the ſteps he ſet his feet on; and before I had time to ſpeak to him, he cried out to me—"O "maſter! O maſter! O ſorrow! O bad!—"What is "the matter, Friday!" ſaid I. "O yonder there," ſays he, "one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!"" By this way of ſpeaking, I concluded there were ſix; but on enquiry I found there were but three. "Well, "Friday," ſaid I, "do not be frightened;" ſo I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I ſaw the poor fellow moſt terribly ſcared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces and eat him. The poor fellow trembled ſo, that I ſcarce knew what to do with him. I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. "But," ſaid I, "Friday, we muſt reſolve "to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?"—"Me "ſhoot," ſays he; "but there come many great num-"ber."—"No matter for that," ſaid I again; "our "guns will fright them that we do not kill." So I aſked him, whether, if I reſolved to defend him, he would defend me, and ſtand by me, and do juſt as I bade him? He ſaid—"Me die, when you bid die, maſter." So I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been ſo good an huſband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and load them with large ſwan-ſhot, as big as ſmall piſtol-bullets; then I took four muſkets, and loaded them with two ſlugs, and five bullets each; and my two piſtols I loaded with a brace of bul-

lets each: I hung my great ſword as uſual, naked by my ſide, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myſelf, I took my perſpective-glaſs, and went up to the ſide of the hill, to ſee what I could diſcover; and I found quickly, by my glaſs, that there were one-and-twenty ſavages, three priſoners, and three canoes; and that their whole buſineſs ſeemed to be the triumphant banquet upon theſe three human bodies; a barbarous feaſt indeed; but nothing more than, as I have obſerved, was uſual with them.

I obſerved alſo, that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his eſcape, but nearer to my creek, where the ſhore was low, and where a thick wood came cloſe almoſt down to the ſea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand theſe wretches came about, ſo filled me with indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him I was reſolved to go down to them, and kill them all; and aſked him if he would ſtand by me. He was now gotten over his fright, and his ſpirits being a little raiſed with the dram I had given him, he was very chearful; and told me as before, "he would die, when I bid die."

In this fit of fury, I took firſt and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us: I gave Friday one piſtol, to ſtick in his girdle, and three guns upon his ſhoulder; and I took one piſtol, and the other three myſelf; and in this poſture we marched out. I took a ſmall bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullet; and as to orders, I charged him to keep cloſe behind me, and not to ſtir, ſhoot, or do any thing till I bid him; and in the mean time, not to ſpeak a word. In this poſture I fetched a compaſs to my right-hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to get into the wood; ſo that I might come within ſhot of them before I could be diſcovered, which I had ſeen by my glaſs it was eaſy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts

returning, I began to abate my reſolution; I do not mean, that I entertained any fear of their number; for as they were naked, unarmed wretches, it is certain I was ſuperior to them; nay, though I had been alone; but it occurred to my thoughts, what call, what occaſion, much leſs, what neceſſity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people, who had neither done or intended me any wrong; who, as to me, were innocent, and whoſe barbarous cuſtoms were their own diſaſter, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to ſuch ſtupidity and to ſuch inhuman courſes; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much leſs an executioner of his juſtice: that whenever he thought fit, he would take the cauſe into his own hands, and by national vengeance puniſh them for national crimes; but that, in the mean time, it was none of my buſineſs; that it was true, Friday might juſtify it, becauſe he was a declared enemy, and in a ſtate of war with thoſe very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not ſay the ſame with reſpect to myſelf. Theſe things ſo warmly preſſed upon my thoughts all the way I went, that I reſolved I would only go place myſelf near them, that I might obſerve their barbarous feaſt, and that I would act then as God ſhould direct; but that unleſs ſomething offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this reſolution I entered the wood; and with all poſſible warineſs and ſilence, (Friday following cloſe at my heels) I marched till I came to the ſkirt of the wood, on the ſide which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called ſoftly to Friday, and ſhewing him a great tree, which was juſt at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could ſee there plainly what they were doing. He did ſo, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating

the fleſh of one of the priſoners; and that another lay bound upon the ſand, a little from them, whom he ſaid they would kill next, and which fired the very ſoul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, who came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white-bearded man; and going to the tree, I ſaw plainly, by my glaſs, a white man who lay upon the beach of the ſea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags, or things like ruſhes, and that he was an European, and had cloaths on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I ſaw I might come at undiſcovered, and that then I ſhould be within half ſhot of them; ſo I witheld my paſſion, though I was indeed enraged to the higheſt degree; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind ſome buſhes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little riſing ground, which gave me a full view of them, at a diſtance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to loſe: for nineteen of the dreadful wretches ſat upon the ground all cloſe huddled together, and had juſt ſent the other two to butcher the poor Chriſtian, and bring him, perhaps, limb by limb to their fire; and they were ſtooped down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday; 'Now Friday,' ſaid I, 'do as I bid thee.' Friday ſaid he would. 'Then Friday,' ſaid I, 'do exactly as you ſee me do; 'fail in nothing.' So I ſet down one of the muſquets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other muſquet I took my aim at the ſavages, bidding him do the like. Then aſking him if he was ready, he ſaid—'Yes.'—'Then fire at them,' ſaid I; and the ſame moment I fired alſo.

Friday took his aim ſo much better than I, that on the ſide he ſhot, he killed two of them, and wounded

three

ROBINSON CRUSOE, VOL. II. P. 42.
Robinson Crusoe & his Man Friday,
firing upon the Savages.

J. Allen, delin.t Engraved for C. Cooke, Paternoster Row, June 29, 1793. W. Grainger, sculp.t

three more; and on my ſide, I killed one and wounded two. They were, to be ſure, in a dreadful conſternation; and all of them who were not hurt, jumped up upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run, or which way to look; for they knew not from whence their deſtruction came- Friday kept his eyes cloſe upon me, that, as I had bid him, he might obſerve what I did; ſo as ſoon as the firſt ſhot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like: ſeeing me cock and preſent, he did the ſame again. 'Are you ready, Friday?' ſaid I, 'Yes,' ſaid he. 'Let fly then,' ſaid I, 'in the name of God!' and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and ſo did Friday! and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called ſwan-ſhot, or ſmall piſtol-bullets, we found only two drop; but ſo many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and ſcreaming like mad creatures, all bloody and miſerably wounded, moſt of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

'Now, Friday,' ſaid I, laying down the diſcharged pieces, and taking up the muſquet, which was yet loaden, 'follow me!' which he did with a deal of courage; upon which I ruſhed out of the wood, and ſhewed myſelf, and Friday cloſe at my foot. As ſoon as I perceived they ſaw me, I ſhouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do ſo too; and running as faſt as I could, (which, by the way, was not very faſt, being loaded with arms as I was) I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, at I ſaid, laying on the beach, or ſhore, between the place where they ſat and the ſea. The two butchers who were juſt going to work with him, had left him at the ſurprize of our firſt fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the ſea-ſide, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the reſt made the ſame way: I turned to Friday, and bade him ſtep forwards and fire at them; he underſtood me immediately, and running about forty yards to be near them, he ſhot at them, and I thought he had killed them all; for I ſaw

them all fall on an heap into the boat; though I ſaw two of them up again quickly: however, he killed two, and wounded the third, ſo that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim, and looſing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and aſked him in the Portugueſe tongue what he was? He anſwered in Latin, 'Chriſtianus;' but was ſo weak and faint, that he could ſcarce ſtand or ſpeak; I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making ſigns that he ſhould drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat; then I aſked him what countryman he was? and he ſaid, 'Eſpagnole;' and being a little recovered, let me know, by all the ſigns he could poſſibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. 'Seignior,' ſaid I, with as much Spaniſh as I could make up, 'we will talk afterwards, 'but we muſt fight now: if you have any ſtrength left, 'take this piſtol and ſword and lay about you.' He took them very thankfully, and no ſooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an inſtant; for the truth is, as the whole was a ſurprize to them, ſo the poor creatures were ſo much frighted with the noiſe of our pieces, that they fell down from mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own eſcape, than their fleſh had to reſiſt our ſhot; and that was the caſe with thoſe five that Friday ſhot in the boat: for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, ſo the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand ſtill, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, becauſe I had given the Spaniard my piſtol and ſword; ſo I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we firſt fired, and fetch the arms which lay there that had been diſcharged, which he did with great ſwiftneſs; and then giving him my muſquet, I ſat down myſelf

to

to load all the reſt again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading theſe pieces there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the ſavages, who made at him with one of their great wooden ſwords, the ſame weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut two great wounds on his head; but the ſavage, being a ſtout luſty fellow, cloſing in with him, had thrown him down, (being faint) and was wringing my ſword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermoſt, wiſely quitting his ſword, drew the piſtol from his girdle, ſhot the ſavage through the body, and killed him upon the ſpot, before I, who was running to help, could come near him.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, purſued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he diſpatched thoſe three, who as I ſaid before, were wounded at firſt and fallen, and all the reſt he could come up with; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he purſued two of the ſavages and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the woods, where Friday purſued them, and killed one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet he plunged into the ſea, and ſwam with all his might off to thoſe who were left in the canoe; with three in the canoe, with one wounded, who we know not whether he died or no, were all that eſcaped our hands of one and twenty. The account of the reſt is as follows:

3 Killed at our ſhot from the tree.
2 Killed at the next ſhot.
2 Killed by Friday in the boat.
2 Killed by ditto, of thoſe at firſt wounded.
1 Killed by ditto, in the wood.

3 Killed by the Spaniard.
4 Killed, being found dropt here and there, of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chace of them.
4 Eſcaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead.

21 In all.

Thoſe that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-ſhot; and though Friday made two or three ſhot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes and purſue them; and indeed I was very anxious about their eſcape, leſt, carrying the news home to their people, they ſhould come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their canoes, and devour us by mere multitudes; ſo I conſented to purſue them by ſea; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was ſurprized to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the ſlaughter, and almoſt dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the ſide of the boat, he was tied ſo hard, neck and heels, and had been tied ſo long, that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twiſted flags or ruſhes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not ſtand or ſpeak, but groaned moſt piteouſly, believing, it ſeems, ſtill that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him ſpeak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram; which with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he ſat up in the boat; but when Friday came to hear him ſpeak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have ſeen how Friday kiſſed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, ſung, then cried again, wrung

his

his hands, beat his own face and head, and then ſung and jumped about again, like a diſtracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him ſpeak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himſelf, he told me that it was his father.

It was not eaſy for me to expreſs how it moved me, to ſee what extaſy and filial affection had worked in this poor ſavage, at the ſight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I deſcribe half the extravagancies of his affection after this; for he went into the boat, and out of the boat, a great many times: when he went in to him, he would ſit down by him, open his breaſt, and hold his father's head cloſe to his boſom, half an hour together, to nouriſh it; he then took his arms and ancles, which were numbed and ſtiff with the binding, and chafed, and rubbed them with his hands; and I perceiving what the caſe was, gave him ſome rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This circumſtance put an end to our purſuit of the canoe with the other ſavages, who were now gotten almoſt out of ſight; and it was happy for us that we did not; for it blew ſo hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing ſo hard all night, and that from the north-weſt, which was againſt them, that I could not ſuppoſe their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coaſt.

But to return to Friday. He was ſo buſy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for ſome time; but, after I thought I could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleaſed to the higheſt extreme. Then I aſked him, if he had given his father any bread. He ſhook his head, and ſaid—'None: ugly dog eat all up ſelf.'—So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpoſe; I alſo gave him a dram for himſelf, he would not, however, taſte it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket, alſo, two or three

bunches

bunches of raiſins; ſo I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no ſooner given his father theſe raiſins, but I ſaw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at ſuch a rate, (for he was the ſwifteſt fellow of his feet that ever I ſaw;) I ſay, he ran at ſuch a rate, that he was out of ſight as it were in an inſtant; and though I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one; away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I ſaw him come back again though not ſo faſt as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was ſlacker, becauſe he had ſomething in his hand.

When he came up to me I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug or pot, to bring his father ſome freſh water; and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father; however, as I was very thirſty too, I took a little ſup of it: this water revived his father more than all the rum or ſpirits I had given him; for he was juſt fainting with thirſt.

When his father had drank, I called him to know if there was any water left; he ſaid, yes: and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I ſent one of the cakes, that Friday brought, to the Spaniard too, who was, indeed, very weak, and was repoſing himſelf upon a green place, under the ſhade of a tree, and whoſe limbs were alſo very ſtiff, and very much ſwelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with; when I ſaw that upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he ſat up and drank, and took the bread and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raiſins: he looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulneſs that could appear in any countenance; but was ſo weak notwithſtanding he had ſo exerted himſelf in the fight, that he could not ſtand up upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ancles were ſo ſwelled and ſo painful to him; ſo I bade him ſit ſtill, and cauſed Friday to rub his ancles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I

ROBINSON CRUSOE. VOL. III. P. 48.
Friday bathing the Ancles of the Spaniard
whom he had rescued from the Savages

R. Corbould, delin.t Engraved for C. Cooke, Pater-noster Row June 29, 1793. W. Hawkins, sculp.t

I obſerved the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps leſs, all the while he was here, turned his head about, to ſee if his father was in the ſame place and poſture as he left him ſitting: at length finding he was not to be ſeen, he ſtarted up, and without ſpeaking a word, flew with that ſwiftneſs to him, that one could ſcarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went, but when he came, he only found he had laid himſelf down to eaſe his limbs; ſo Friday came back to me preſently, and then I ſpoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he ſhould carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him; but Friday, a luſty young fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and ſet him down ſoftly upon the ſide or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inſide of it, and then lifted them quite in, and ſet him cloſe to his father; and preſently ſtepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the ſhore faſte than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too: ſo he brought them ſafe into our creek; and leaving them in the boat, ran away to fetch the other canoe. As he paſſed me, I ſpoke to him, and aſked him, whither he went. He told me—'Go, fetch more boat.' So away he went like the wind, for ſure never man or horſe ran like him; and he had the other canoe in the creek, almoſt as ſoon as I got to it by land, ſo he wafted me over, and then went to help our new gueſts out of the boat, which he did: but they were neither of them able to walk; ſo that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this I ſet about conſidering what method I could take to get theſe poor creatures to our habitation; at length a project came into my head, and calling to Friday to bid them ſit down on the bank while he came to me, I ſoon made a kind of hand-barrow to lay them on; and Friday and I carried them both together upon it between us: but when we got them to the outſide of our wall or fortification, we were at a

greater

greater loſs than before; for it was impoſſible to get them over; and I was reſolved not to break it down: ſo I ſet to work again; and Friday and I, in about two hours time, made a very handſome tent, covered with old ſails, and, above that, with boughs of trees; being in the ſpace without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted: and here we made two beds, of ſuch things as I had, viz. of good rice-ſtraw, with blankets laid upon it, to lie on, and another to cover them, on each bed.

My iſland was now peopled, and I thought myſelf very rich in ſubjects; and it was a diverting reflection which I frequently enjoyed how like a king I looked, Firſt of all, the whole country was my own mere property; ſo that I had an undoubted right of dominion: ſecondly, my people were perfectly ſubjected; I was abſolute lord and law-giver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occaſion for it, for me: it was remarkable too, I had but three ſubjects, and they were of three different religions; my man Friday was a Proteſtant, his father a Pagan, and a canibal, and the Spaniard a Papiſt. However, I allowed liberty of conſcience throughout my dominions: but this by the way.

As ſoon as I had ſecured my two weak reſcued priſoners, and given them ſhelter, and a place to reſt them, I began to think of making ſome proviſion for them: and the firſt thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearly goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed: then I cut off the hinder quarter, and chopping it into ſmaller pieces, I ſet Friday to work to boiling and ſtewing, and made them a very good diſh, I aſſure you, of fleſh and broth, having put ſome barley and rice alſo into the broth; and as I cooked it without doors (for I made no fire within my inner wall) ſo I carried it all into the new tent; and having placed a table there for them, I ſat down and eat my dinner alſo with them; and, as well as I could cheared them and encouraged them, Friday being my interpreter,

interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets, and other fire arms, which for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive; I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way. All this he punctually performed, and defaced the very appearance of the savages being there, so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects; and first, I set Friday to enquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether he might expect a return of them, with a power too great for us to resist. His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm, which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned, or driven south to those shores, where they were as sure to be devoured, as they were to be drowned if they were cast away: but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not; but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frighted with the manner of being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people, they were all killed by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man; and that the two which appeared (viz. Friday and I) were two heavenly spirits or furies, come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This, he said, he knew, because he heard them all cry out so in their language to one another; for it was

impossible

impoſſible for them to conceive that a man ſhould dart, fire and ſpeak thunder, and kill at a diſtance, without lifting up the hand, as was done now. And this old ſavage was in the right; for, as I underſtood ſince, by other hands, the ſavages of that part never attempted to go over to the iſland afterwards. They were ſo terrified with the accounts given by thoſe four men (for it ſeems they did eſcape the ſea) that they believed, whoever went to that enchanted iſland, would be deſtroyed with fire from the gods.

This however, I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehenſions for ſome time, and kept always upon my guard, I and all my army; for as we were four of us, I would have ventured upon an hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into conſideration; being likewiſe aſſured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good uſage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little ſuſpended, when I had a ſerious diſcourſe with the Spaniard, and when I underſtood, that there were ſixteen more of his countrymen and Portugueſe, who having been caſt away, and made their eſcape to that ſide, lived there at peace indeed with the ſavages, but were very ſore put to it for neceſſaries, and indeed for life: I aſked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havannah, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and ſilver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with; that they had five Portugueſe ſeamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned when firſt the ſhip was loſt; and that theſe eſcaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived almoſt ſtarved, on the canibal coaſt, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

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He told me, they had ſome arms with them, but they were perfectly uſeleſs, for that they had neither powder or ball, the waſhing of the ſea having ſpoiled all their powder, except a little which they uſed at their firſt landing, to provide themſelves ſome food.

I aſked him what he thought would become of them there; and if they had formed no deſign of making any eſcape. He ſaid, they had many conſultations about it; but that having neither veſſel, nor tools to build one, or proviſions of any kind, their counſels always ended in tears and deſpair.

I aſked him how he thought they would receive a propoſal from me, which might tend towards an eſcape, and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done. I told him with freedom, I feared moſtly their treachery and ill uſage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always ſquare their dealings by the obligations they had received, ſo much as they did by the advantages they expected: I told him it would be very hard that I ſhould be the inſtrument of their deliverance, and that they ſhould afterwards make me their priſoner in New Spain, where an Engliſhman was certain to be made a ſacrifice, what neceſſity, or what accident ſoever, brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the ſavages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the mercileſs claws of the prieſts, and be carried into the Inquiſition. I added, that otherwiſe I was perſuaded, if they were all here, we might, with ſo many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the Brazils ſouthward, or to the iſlands or Spaniſh coaſt northward; but that if, in requital, they ſhould, when I had put weapons in their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill uſed for my kindneſs to them, and my ſituation become much worſe than it was before.

He anſwered with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was ſo miſerable, and they

were ſo ſenſible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of uſing any man unkindly that ſhould contribute to their deliverance; and that, if I pleaſed, he would go to them with the old man, and diſcourſe with them about it, and would return again, and bring me their anſwer; that he would make conditions with them upon their ſolemn oath, that they would be abſolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain; and that they ſhould ſwear upon the Holy Sacraments and Goſpel, to be true to me, and to go to ſuch Chriſtian country as I ſhould agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and abſolutely by my orders, till they were landed ſafely in ſuch country as I intended, and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpoſe.

He then ſaid, he would firſt ſwear to me himſelf, that he would never ſtir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders; and that he would defend me to the laſt drop of blood, if there ſhould happen the leaſt breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me, they were all very civil honeſt men, and under the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable, having neither weapons nor cloaths, nor any food, but at the mercy and diſcretion of the ſavages; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was ſure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon theſe aſſurances, I reſolved to venture to relieve them, if poſſible, and to ſend the old ſavage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when he had gotten all things in readineſs to go, the Spaniard himſelf ſtarted an objection, which had ſo much prudence in it on one hand, and ſo much ſincerity on the other, that I could not but be very well ſatisfied with it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at leaſt half a year. The caſe was thus—

He had been with us now about a month; during which time I had let him ſee in what manner I had provided, with the aſſiſtance of Providence, for my ſupport; and he ſaw evidently what ſtock of corn and rice

I had laid up; which, as it was more than ſufficient for myſelf, ſo it was not ſufficient at leaſt, without good huſbandry, for my family, now it was increaſed to four: but much leſs would it be ſufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he ſaid, fourteen ſtill alive, ſhould come over; nor could there be ſufficient to victual our veſſel, if we ſhould build one, for a voyage to any of the Chriſtian colonies of America. So he told me, he thought it would be more adviſeable, to let him and the other two dig and cultivate ſome more land, as much as I could ſpare ſeed to ſow; and that we ſhould wait another harveſt, that we might have a ſupply of corn for his countrymen when they ſhould come: for want might be a temptation to them to diſagree, or not to think themſelves delivered, otherwiſe than out of one difficulty into another. You know, (ſays he,) the children of Iſrael, 'though they rejoiced at firſt at their being delivered 'out of Egypt, yet rebelled even againſt God himſelf, 'that delivered them, when they came to want bread in 'the wilderneſs.'

His caution was ſo ſeaſonable, and his advice ſo good, that I could not but be very well pleaſed with his propoſal, as well as I was ſatisfied with his fidelity. So we commenced digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furniſhed with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was ſeed time, we had gotten as much land prepared and trimmed up as we ſowed twenty-two buſhels of barley on, and ſixteen jars of rice; which was, in ſhort, all the ſeed we had to ſpare; nor indeed did we leave ourſelves barley ſufficient for our own food for the ſix months that we had to expect our crop; that is to ſay, reckoning from the time we ſet our ſeed aſide for ſowing; for it is not to be ſuppoſed it is ſix months in the ground in that country.

Having now ſociety enough, and our number being ſufficient to put us out of fear of the ſavages, if they had come, unleſs their number had been very great, we went freely all over the iſland, wherever we found oc-

caſion; and as here we had our eſcape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impoſſible, at leaſt for me, to have the means of it out of mine: to this purpoſe, I marked out ſeveral trees, which I thought fit for our work, and I ſet Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I cauſed the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thoughts on that affair, to overſee and direct their work. I ſhewed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into ſingle planks, and I cauſed them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up any one may imagine.

At the ſame time I contrived to increaſe my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpoſe I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day and myſelf, with Friday, the next day; for we took our turns: and by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the reſt: for whenever we ſhot the dam, we ſaved the kids, and added them to our flock. But above all, the ſeaſon for curing the grapes coming on, I cauſed ſuch a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the ſun, that I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raiſins of the ſun are cured, we ſhould have filled ſixty or eighty barrels; and theſe, with our bread, was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I aſſure you; for it is an exceeding nouriſhing food.

It was now harveſt, and our crop in good order; it was not the moſt plentiful increaſe I had ſeen in the iſland, but, however, it was enough to anſwer our end; for, from twenty-two buſhels of barley, we brought in and threſhed out above two hundred and twenty buſhels, and the like in proportion of the rice; which was ſtore enough for our food to the next harveſt, though all the ſixteen Spaniards had been on ſhore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ſhip, to have carried us

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to any part of the world; that is to ſay, of America. When we had thus houſed and ſecured our magazine of corn we fell to work to make more wicker-work; viz. great baſkets, in which we kept it; and the Spaniard was very handy and dextrous at this part, and often blamed me, that I did not make ſome things for defence, of this kind of work; but I ſaw no need of it. And now having a full ſupply of food for all the gueſts expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to ſee what he could do with thoſe he left behind him there: I gave him a ſtrict charge in writing, not to bring any man with him who would not firſt ſwear, in the preſence of himſelf and of the old ſavage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack, the perſon he ſhould find in the iſland, who was ſo kind to ſend for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would ſtand by and defend him againſt all ſuch attempts; and wherever they went, would be entirely under, and ſubjected to his command: and that this ſhould be put in writing, and ſigned with their hands. How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink, that indeed was a queſtion which we never aſked.

Under theſe inſtructions, the Spaniard and the old ſavage (the father of Friday) went away in one of the canoes, which they might be ſaid to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as priſoners, to be devoured by the ſavages.

I gave each of them a muſket with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball; charging them to be very good huſbands of both, and not to uſe either of them but upon urgent occaſions.

This was a cheerful work, being the firſt meaſures uſed by me in view of my deliverance for now twenty-ſeven years and ſome days. I gave them proviſions of bread, and of dried grapes, ſufficient for themſelves for many days, and ſufficient for their countrymen for about eight days time; and wiſhing them a good voyage I let them go, agreeing with them about a ſignal

they ſhould hang out at their return, by which I ſhould know them again when they came back, at a diſtance, before they came on ſhore.

They went away with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at the full; by my account, in the month of October; but as to the exact reckoning of days, after I had once loſt it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the number of years ſo punctually as to be ſure that I was right; though, as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no leſs than eight days I waited for them, when a ſtrange and unforeſeen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in hiſtory. I was faſt aſleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud—'Maſter! maſter! they are come, they are come!'

I jumped up, and, regardleſs of danger, went out as ſoon as I could get my cloaths on, through my little grove, which, by the way, was by this time grown to be a very thick wood: I ſay, regardleſs of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my cuſtom to do; but I was ſurpriſed, when turning my eyes to the ſea, I preſently ſaw a boat at about a league and a half diſtance, ſtanding in for the ſhore, with a ſhoulder-of-mutton ſail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in: alſo I obſerved preſently, that they did not come from that ſide which the ſhore lay on, but from the ſouthermoſt end of the iſland; upon this I called Friday in, and bid him lie cloſe, for theſe were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perſpective glaſs, to ſee what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I uſed to do when I was apprehenſive of any thing, and to take my view the plainer without being diſcovered,

I had ſcarce ſet my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly diſcovered a ſhip lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half diſtance from me, S. S. E. but not above a league and an half from the ſhore. By my obſervation it appeared plainly to be an Engliſh ſhip, and the boat appeared to be an Engliſh long-boat.

I cannot expreſs the confuſion I was in, though the joy of ſeeing a ſhip, and one whom I had reaſon to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and conſequently friends, was ſuch as I cannot deſcribe; but yet I had ſome ſecret doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me to keep upon my guard. In the firſt place, it occurred to me to conſider what buſineſs an Engliſh ſhip could have in that part of the ſeas, ſince it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the Engliſh had any traffick; and I knew there had been no ſtorms to drive them in there, as in diſtreſs; and that if they were Engliſh really, it was moſt probable, that they were here upon no good deſign; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man deſpiſe the ſecret hints and notices of danger, which ſometimes are given him when he may think there is no poſſibility of its being real. That ſuch hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any obſervations of things can deny; that there are certain diſcoveries of an inviſible world, and a converſe of ſpirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them ſeems to be to warn us of danger, why ſhould we not ſuppoſe they are from ſome friendly agent (whether Supreme, or inferior and ſubordinate, is not the queſtion) and that they are given for our good?

The preſent queſtion abundantly confirms me in the juſtice of this reaſoning; for had I not been made cautious by this ſecret admonition, come it from whence it would, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worſe condition than before.

I had not kept myſelf long in this poſture, when I ſaw the boat draw near the ſhore, as if they looked for a

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creek to thruſt in at for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not ſee the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but run their boat on ſhore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was a happy circumſtance; for otherwiſe they would have landed juſt, as I may ſay, at my door, and would have ſoon beaten me out of my caſtle, and perhaps have plundured me of all I had.

When they were on ſhore, I was fully ſatisfied they were Engliſhmen; at leaſt moſt of them: one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove ſo. There were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound: and when the firſt four or five of them were jumped on ſhore, they took thoſe three out of the boat as priſoners. One of the three I could perceive uſing the moſt paſſionate geſtures of intreaty, affliction, and deſpair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two I could perceive lifted up their hands ſometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to ſuch a degree as the firſt.

I was perfectly confounded at the ſight, and knew not what the meaning of it could be. Friday called out to me in Engliſh, as well as he could—'O maſter! 'you ſee Engliſh mans eat priſoners as well as ſavage 'mans.'—'Why (ſaid I) Friday, do you think they are 'going to eat them then?'—'Yes (ſays Friday) they 'will eat them.'—'No, no (ſaid I) Friday, I am afraid 'they will murder them, indeed; but you may be ſure 'they will not eat them.'

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but ſtood trembling with horror at the ſight, expecting every moment when the three priſoners ſhould be killed; nay, once I ſaw one of the villains lifted up his arm with a great *cutlaſs* (as the ſeamen call it) or ſword, to ſtrike one of the poor men; and I expected to ſee him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body ſeemed to run chill in my veins.

I wiſhed heartily now for our Spaniard, and the ſavage that was gone with him; or that I had any way

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to have come undiſcovered within ſhot of them, that I might have reſcued the three men; for I ſaw no fire-arms they had among them: but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had obſerved the outrageous uſage of the three men by the inſolent ſeamen, I obſerved the fellows run ſcattering about the land, as if they wanted to ſee the country: I obſerved alſo, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleaſed; but they ſat down all three upon the ground very penſive, and looked like men in deſpair.

This put me in mind of the firſt time when I came on ſhore, and began to look about me; how I gave myſelf over for loſt, how wildly I looked round me, what dreadful apprehenſions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night, for fear of being devoured by wild beaſts.

As I knew nothing that night of the ſupply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ſhip nearer the land by the ſtorms and tide, by which I have ſince been ſo long nouriſhed and ſupported; ſo theſe three poor deſolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and ſupply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of ſafety, at the time they thought themſelves loſt, and their caſe deſperate.

So little do we ſee before us in the world, and ſo much reaſon have we to depend chearfully upon the Great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures ſo abſolutely deſtitute, but that in the worſt circumſtances they have always ſomething to be thankful for, and ſometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the very means by which they ſeem to be brought to their deſtruction.

It was juſt at the time of high-water when the people came on ſhore, and while partly they ſtood parleying with the priſoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to ſee what kind of place they were

in, they had careleſsly ſtaid till the tide was ſpent, and the water had ebbed conſiderably away, leaving their boat aground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell aſleep; however, one of them waking ſooner than the other, and finding the boat too faſt aground for him to ſtir it, hallooed for the reſt who were ſtraggling about, upon which they all ſoon came to the boat; but it was paſt all their ſtrength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the ſhore on that ſide being a ſoft oozy ſand almoſt like a quick-ſand.

In this condition, like true ſeamen, who are, perhaps, the leaſt of all mankind given to fore-thought, they gave it over, and away they ſtrolled about the country again; and I heard one of them ſay aloud to another, (calling them off from the boat,) 'Why, let 'her alone Jack, can't ye? ſhe'll float next tide.' By which I was fully confirmed in the main enquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myſelf cloſe, not once daring to ſtir out of my caſtle, any farther than to my place of obſervation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no leſs than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to ſee their motions, and to hear their diſcourſe, if they had any.

In the mean time I prepared myſelf for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at firſt. I ordered Friday alſo, whom I had made an excellent markſman with his gun, to load himſelf with arms. I took myſelf two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three muſquets. My figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable goat-ſkin coat on, with the great cap I mentioned, a naked ſword, two piſtols in my belt, and a gun upon each ſhoulder.

It was my deſign, as I ſaid before, not to have made

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any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that they were all gone ſtraggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were all laid down to ſleep. The three poor diſtreſſed men, too anxious for their condition to get any ſleep, were however ſet down under the ſhelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of ſight of any of the reſt.

Upon this I reſolved to diſcover myſelf to them, and learn ſomething of their condition. Immediately, I marched in the figure above, my man Friday at a good diſtance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite ſo ſtaring a ſpectre-like figure as I did.

I came as near them undiſcovered as I could, and then, before any of them ſaw me, I called aloud to them in Spaniſh—'What are ye, gentlemen?

They ſtarted up at the noiſe, but were ten times more confounded when they ſaw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no anſwer at all, but I thought I perceived them juſt going to fly from me, when I ſpoke to them in Engliſh. 'Gentlemen,' (ſaid I) 'do not be ſurprized at me; perhaps you may have 'a friend near you, when you did not expect it.'—'He 'muſt be ſent directly from Heaven then,' ſaid one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the ſame time; 'for our condition is paſt the help of man.' 'All help is from Heaven, Sir, (ſaid I:) but can you 'put a ſtranger in the way how to help you? for you 'ſeem to me to be in ſome great diſtreſs: I ſaw you 'when you landed; and when you ſeemed to make ap- 'plication to the brutes that came with you, I ſaw one 'of them lift up his ſword to kill you.'

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one aſtoniſhed, returned—'Am 'I talking to God or man? Is it a real man, or an 'angel?'—'Be in no fear about that, Sir, (ſaid I,) if 'God had ſent an angel to relieve you, he would have 'come better cloathed, and armed after another man-

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'ner than you ſee me. Pray lay aſide your fears: I 'am a man, an Engliſhman, and diſpoſed to aſſiſt you, 'you ſee; I have one ſervant only; we have arms and 'ammunition; tell us freely, can we ſerve you? What 'is your caſe?

'Our caſe, (ſaid he) Sir, is too long to tell you, 'while our murderers are ſo near; but in ſhort, Sir, I 'was commander of that ſhip, my men having muti-'nied againſt me, they have been hardly prevailed on 'not to murder me; and at laſt have ſet me on ſhore 'in this deſolate place, with theſe two men with me, 'one my mate, the other a paſſenger, where we expect 'to periſh, believing the place to be uninhabited, and 'know not yet what to think of it.

'Where are thoſe brutes, your enemies? (ſaid I,) 'do you know where they are gone?'—'There they 'are, Sir, (ſaid he, pointing to a thicket of trees;) 'my heart trembles for fear they have ſeen us, and heard 'you ſpeak; if they have, they will certainly murder 'us all.'

'Have they any fire arms? (ſaid I.) He anſwered they had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat. 'Well then, (ſaid I) leave the reſt to me. 'I ſee they are all aſleep; it is an eaſy thing to kill 'them all; but ſhall we rather take them priſoners?' He told me there were two deſperate villains among them, that it was ſcarce ſafe to ſhew any mercy to; but if they were ſecured, he believed all the reſt would re-turn to their duty. I aſked him which they were? He told me he could not at that diſtance deſcribe them; but he would obey my orders in any thing I would direct. 'Well (ſaid I) let us retreat out of their view or hear-'ing leſt they awake, and we will reſolve farther.' So they willingly went back with me, till the woods co-vered us from them.

'Look you, Sir, (ſaid I) if I venture upon your de-'liverance, are you willing to make two conditions 'with me?' He anticipated my propoſals, by telling me, that both he and the ſhip, if recovered, ſhould be

wholly

wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing; and if the ſhip was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world ſoever I would ſend him; and the other two men ſaid the ſame.

'Well, (ſaid I) my conditions are but two: Firſt, 'That while you ſtay on this iſland with me, you will 'not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms 'into your hands, you will upon all occaſions give them 'up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon 'this iſland, and in the mean time be governed by my 'orders.

'Secondly, That if the ſhip is or may be recovered, 'you will carry me and my man to England paſſage 'free.'

He gave all the aſſurance that the invention and faith of a man could deviſe, that he would comply with theſe moſt reaſonable demands, and beſides would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occaſions as long as he lived.

'Well then (ſaid I) here are three muſkets for you 'with powder and ball: tell me next what you think 'is proper to be done?' He ſhewed all the teſtimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any thing, but the beſt method I could think of, was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the firſt volley, and offered to ſubmit, we might ſave them, and ſo put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the ſhot.

He ſaid, very modeſtly, that he was loth to kill them, if he could help it; but that thoſe two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ſhip; and if they eſcaped, we ſhould be undone ſtill, for they would go on board, and bring the whole ſhip's company, and deſtroy us all. 'Well, then (ſaid I) neceſſity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way 'to ſave our lives.' However, ſeeing him ſtill cautious of ſhedding blood, I told him, they ſhould go themſelves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this diſcourſe we heard ſome of them awake, and ſoon after we ſaw two of them on their feet: I aſked him, if either of them were the men, who he had ſaid were the heads of the mutiny. He ſaid, 'No.'— 'Well then,' ſaid I, 'you may let them eſcape, and 'Providence ſeems to have awakened them on purpoſe 'to ſave themſelves: now, if the reſt eſcape you, it is 'your fault.'

Animated with this, he took the muſket I had given him in his hand, and piſtol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand: the two men who were with him going firſt, made ſome noiſe, at which one of the ſeamen who was awake, turned about, and ſeeing them coming, cried out to the reſt: but it was too late then; for the moment he cried out, they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wiſely reſerving his own piece. They had ſo well aimed their ſhot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the ſpot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he ſtarted up upon his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain ſtepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help; he ſhould call upon God to forgive his villainy; and with that word knocked him down with the ſtock of his muſket, ſo that he never ſpoke more; there were three more in the company, and one of them was alſo ſlightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they ſaw their danger, and that it was in vain to reſiſt, they begged for mercy: the captain told them he would ſpare their lives, if they would give him any aſſurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would ſwear to be faithful to him in recovering the ſhip, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the proteſtations of their ſincerity that could be deſired, and he was willing to believe them and ſpare their lives: which I was not againſt; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the iſland.

While this was doing, I ſent Friday and the captain's

mate

mate to the boat, with orders to ſecure her, and bring away the oars and ſail, which they did; and, by and by, three ſtraggling men, that were, (happily for them) parted from the reſt, came back upon hearing the guns fired; and ſeeing their captain, who before was their priſoner, now their conqueror, they ſubmitted to be bound alſo, by which means our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I ſhould enquire into one another's circumſtances: I began firſt, and told him my whole hiſtory; which he heard with an attention even to amazement; and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furniſhed with proviſions and ammunition; and, indeed, as my ſtory is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himſelf, and how I ſeemed to have been preſerved there on purpoſe to ſave his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not ſpeak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I conducted him, and his two men, into my apartment, leading them in juſt where I came out, viz. at the top of the houſe; where I refreſhed them with ſuch proviſions as I had, and ſhewed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long inhabiting that place.

All I ſhewed them, all I ſaid to them, was perfectly amazing; but, above all, the captain admired my fortification; and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having now been planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faſter than in England, was become a little wood, and ſo thick, that it was unpaſſable in any part of it, but at that one ſide, where I had reſerved my little winding paſſage into it: this I told him was my caſtle, and my reſidence; but that I had a ſeat in the country, as moſt princes have, whither I could retreat upon occaſion, and I would ſhew him that too another time; but at preſent our buſineſs was to conſider, how to recover the ſhip: he agreed with me as to that; but told me, he was perfectly at a loſs what meaſures to take; for that

there were ſtill ſix-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a curſed conſpiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by deſperation; and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduced, they ſhould be brought to the gallows as ſoon as they came to England, or to any of the Engliſh colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with ſo ſmall a number as we were.

I muſed for ſome time upon what he had ſaid, and found it was a very rational concluſion, and that therefore ſomething was to be reſolved on very ſpeedily, as well to draw the men on board into ſome ſnare for their ſurprize, as to prevent their landing upon us, and deſtroying us: upon this it preſently occurred to me, that in a little while, the ſhip's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on ſhore in their other boat to ſee for them; and that then, perhaps, they might come armed, and be too ſtrong for us. This, he allowed, was rational.

Upon this I told him the firſt thing we had to do was to ſtave the boat, which lay upon the beach, ſo that they might not carry her off; and, taking every thing out of her, leave her ſo far uſeleſs as not to be fit to ſwim; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left out of her, and whatever elſe we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biſcuit-cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of ſugar in a piece of canvas: (the ſugar was five or ſix pounds) all which was very welcome to me, eſpecially the brandy and ſugar, of which I had none left for many years.

When we had carried all theſe things on ſhore, (the oars, maſt, ſail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before) we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come ſtrong enough to maſter us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be capable of recovering the ſhip; but my view

was

was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much queſtion to make her fit again to carry us to the Leeward Iſlands, and call upon our friends the Spaniards in my way, for I had them ſtill in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our deſigns, and had firſt by main ſtrength, heaved the boat up upon the beach, ſo high, that the tide would not float her off at high-water-mark; and, beſides, had broken a hole in her bottom, too big to be quickly ſtopped, and were ſat down muſing what we ſhould do, we heard the ſhip fire a gun, and ſaw her make a waft with her ancient, as a ſignal for the boat to come on board; but no boat ſtirred; and they fired ſeveral times, making other ſignals for the boat.

At laſt, when all their ſignals and firings proved fruitleſs, and they found the boat did not ſtir, we ſaw them, (by the help of our glaſſes) hoiſt another boat out, and row towards the ſhore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no leſs than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ſhip lay almoſt two leagues from the ſhore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain ſight of the men, even of their faces; becauſe the tide having ſet them a little to the eaſt of the other boat, they rowed up under ſhore, to come to the ſame place where the others had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I ſay, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the perſons and characters of all the men in the boat; of whom, he ſaid, there were three very honeſt fellows, who he was ſure were led into this conſpiracy by the reſt, being overpowered and frighted.

But that for the boatſwain, who, it ſeems, was the chief officer among them, and all the reſt, they were as outrageous as any of the ſhip's crew; and were, no doubt, made deſperate in their new enterprize: and terribly apprehenſive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I ſmiled at him, and told him, that men in our cir-

cumſtances were paſt the operations of fear: that ſeeing almoſt every condition that could be was better than that we were ſuppoſed to be in, we ought to expect that the conſequence, whether death or life, would be ſure to be a deliverance. I aſked him, what he thought of the circumſtances of my life; and whether a deliverance was not worth venturing for. 'And where, Sir,' ſaid I, 'is your belief of my being preſerved here on 'purpoſe to ſave your life, which elevated you a little 'while ago? For my part, there ſeems to be but one 'thing amiſs in all the proſpect of it.'—'What's that,' ſaid he. 'Why,' ſaid I, 'tis that, as you ſay there 'are three or four honeſt fellows among them, which 'ſhould be ſpared: had they been all of the wicked 'part of the crew, I ſhould have thought God's pro-'vidence had ſingled them out to deliver them into your 'hands; for depend upon it, every man of them that 'comes a-ſhore, are our own, and ſhall die or live as they 'behave to us.'

As I ſpoke this with a raiſed voice, and chearful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him; ſo we ſet vigorouſly to our buſineſs. We had, upon the firſt appearance of the boat's coming from the ſhip, conſidered of ſeparating our priſoners, and had, indeed, ſecured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was leſs aſſured than ordinary, I ſent with Friday, and one of the three (delivered men) to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or diſcovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have delivered themſelves. Here they left them bound, but gave them proviſions, and promiſed them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two; but that if they attempted their eſcape, they ſhould be put to death without mercy. They promiſed faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful, that they had ſuch good uſage as to have proviſions and a light left them; for Friday gave them candles (ſuch as we made ourſelves)

for

for their comfort; and they did not know but that he ſtood centinel over them at the entrance.

The other priſoners had better uſage: two of them were kept pinioned, indeed, becauſe the captain was not free to truſt them; but the other two were taken into my ſervice, upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their ſolemnly engaging to live and die with us; ſo with them, and the three honeſt men, we were ſeven men well armed; and I made no doubt we ſhould be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, conſidering that the captain had ſaid there were three or four honeſt men among them alſo.

As ſoon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on ſhore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to ſee; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, ſome diſtance from the ſhore, with ſome hands in her to guard her; and ſo we ſhould not be able to ſieze the boat.

Being on ſhore, they all immediately ran to the other boat; and it was eaſy to ſee they were under a great ſurprize, to find her ſtripped, as above, of all that was in her; and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had muſed ſome time on this, they ſet up two or three great ſhouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear: but all was to no purpoſe; they then placed themſelves all cloſe in a ring, and fired a volley of their ſmall arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring; but it was all one: thoſe in the cave, we were ſure could not hear; and thoſe in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durſt give no anſwer to them.

They were ſo aſtoniſhed at the ſurprize of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they reſolved to go all on board again to their ſhip, and let the reſt know that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat ſtaved; accordingly, they immediately launched the boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ſhip again, and ſet ſail, giving their comrades for loſt, and ſo he ſhould ſtill loſe the ſhip, which he was in hopes we ſhould have recovered: but he was quickly as much frighted the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on ſhore again; but with this new meaſure in their conduct, which, it ſeems, they conſulted together upon; viz. to leave three men in the boat, and the reſt to go on ſhore, and go up into the country to look for their companions.

This was a great diſappointment to us; for now we were at a loſs what to do: for our ſeizing thoſe ſeven men on ſhore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat eſcape, becauſe they would then row away to the ſhip, and the reſt of them would be ſure to weigh, and ſet ſail, and ſo our recovering the ſhip would be loſt.

However, we had no remedy but to wait and ſee what the iſſue of things might preſent: the ſeven men came on ſhore and the three who remained in the boat, put her off to a good diſtance from the ſhore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; ſo that it was impoſſible for us to come at them in the boat.

Thoſe that came on ſhore kept cloſe together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could ſee them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, ſo that we might have fired at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could ſee a great way in the valley and woods which lay towards the north-eaſt part, and where the iſland lay loweſt, they ſhouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it ſeems, to venture far from the ſhore, nor far from one another, they ſat down together under a tree, to conſider of it: had they thought

fit

fit to have gone to ſleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us; but they were too full of apprehenſions of danger to venture to go to ſleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very juſt propoſal to me upon this conſultation of theirs, viz. that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we ſhould all ſally upon them juſt at the juncture when their pieces were all diſcharged, and they would certainly yield, and we ſhould have them without bloodſhed; I liked the propoſal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay ſtill a long time, very irreſolute what courſe to take; at length I told them there would be nothing to be done, in my opinion till night; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the ſhore, and ſo might uſe ſome ſtratagem with thoſe in the boat to quit her.

We waited a great while, though very impatient, for their removing, and were very uneaſy; when, after long conſultations, we ſaw them all ſtart up and march down towards the ſea. It ſeems, they had ſuch dreadful apprehenſions upon them of the danger of the place, that they reſolved to go on board the ſhip again, give their companions over for loſt, and ſo go on with their intended voyage with the ſhip.

As ſoon as I perceived them go towards the ſhore, I imagined it to be as it really was; that they had given over their ſearch, and were for going back again: and the captain, as ſoon as I told him my thoughts, was ready to ſink at the apprehenſions of it; but I preſently thought of a ſtratagem to fetch them back again, and which anſwered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek weſtward, towards the place where the ſavages came on ſhore when Friday was reſcued; and

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as ſoon as they came to a little riſing ground, at about half a mile diſtance, I bad them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the ſeamen heard them; that as ſoon as ever they heard the ſeamen anſwer them they ſhould return it again, and then keeping out of ſight, take a round, always anſwering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the iſland, and among the woods, as poſſible; and then wheel about again to me, by ſuch ways as I directed.

They were juſt going into the boat, when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they preſently heard them, and anſwering, ran along the ſhore weſtward, towards the voice they heard, when they were preſently ſtopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and ſet them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had ſet themſelves over, I obſerved that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having faſtened her to the ſtump of a little tree on the ſhore.

This was what I wiſhed for; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their buſineſs, I took the reſt with me, and croſſing the creek out of their ſight, we ſurpriſed the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on ſhore, and the other being in the boat; the fellow on ſhore was between ſleeping and waking, and going to ſtart up, the captain who was foremoſt, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to make a ſingle man yield, when he ſaw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; beſides, this was, it ſeems, one of the three who were not ſo hearty in the mutiny as the reſt of the crew, and therefore was eaſily perſuaded, not only to yield, but afterwards to join very ſincerely with us.

In the mean time, Friday and the captain's mate ſo well managed their buſineſs with the reſt, that they drew them, by hallooing and anſwering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very ſure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themſelves alſo by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and ſo to fall upon them, to make ſure work with them.

It was ſeveral hours after Friday came back to me, before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremoſt of them, long before they came quite up, calling to thoſe behind to come along, and could alſo hear them anſwer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not being able to come any faſter, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impoſſible to expreſs their confuſion, when they found the boat faſt aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone; we could hear them call to each other in a moſt lamentable manner, telling one another they were got into an enchanted iſland; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they ſhould all be murdered; or elſe there were devils or ſpirits in it, and they ſhould be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no anſwer. After ſome time, we could ſee them, by the little light there was, run about, wringing their hands, like men in deſpair; and that ſometimes they would go and ſit down in the boat to reſt themſelves, then come aſhore and walk about again, and ſo the ſame thing over again.

My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at ſome advantage, ſo to ſpare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and eſpecially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the

other

other were very well armed: I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer; and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of their crew; the captain was so eager, at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him: for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting upon their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after, and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men, viz. myself generalissimo; Friday my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men; and the three prisoners of war, whom he had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired: for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate: he, therefore, called out as loud as he could, to one of them, 'Tom Smith, Tom Smith!' Tom Smith answered immediately, 'Who's that? 'Robinson?' For it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, 'Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, 'throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead 'men this moment.'

'Who

'Who muſt we yield to? Where are they?' ſays Smith again. 'Here they are,' ſays he; 'here is our 'captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting 'you theſe two hours; the boatſwain is killed, Will 'Fry, is wounded, and I am a priſoner; and if you do 'not yield, you are all loſt.'

'Will they give us quarter then?' ſays Tom Smith, 'and we will yield.'—'I'll go and aſk, if you promiſe 'to yield,' ſays Robinſon. So he aſked the captain, and the captain himſelf then called out—'You, Smith, 'you know my voice; if you lay down your arms im-'mediately and ſubmit, you ſhall have your lives, all 'but Will Atkins.'

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, 'for God's ſake, 'captain, give me quarter: What have I done? They 'have been all as bad as I!' which, by the way was not true neither; for it ſeems this Will Atkins was the firſt man that laid hold of the captain, when they firſt mutinied, and uſed him barbarouſly in tying his hands, and uſing the moſt horrid language. However, the captain told him that he muſt lay down his arms at diſcretion, and truſt to the governor's mercy; by which he meant me, for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I ſent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with thoſe three, were all but eight, came up and ſeized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myſelf and one more out of ſight, for reaſons of ſtate.

Our next buſineſs was to repair the boat, and to think of ſeizing the ſhip; and as for the captain, now he had leiſure to parley with them, he expoſtulated with them upon the villainy of their practices with him, and at length upon the farther wickedneſs of their deſign; and how certainly it muſt bring them to miſery and diſtreſs in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that, he told them they were none

of his priſoners, but the commander's of the iſland; that they thought they had ſet him on ſhore in a barren, uninhabited iſland; but it had pleaſed God ſo to direct them, that the iſland was inhabited, and that the governor was an Engliſhman; that he might hang them all there if he pleaſed; but as he had given them all quarter, he ſuppoſed he would ſend them to England, to be dealt with there, as juſtice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to adviſe to prepare for death, for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its deſired effect. Atkins fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the reſt begged of him, for God's ſake, that they might not be ſent to England.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a moſt eaſy thing to bring theſe fellows in, to be hearty in getting poſſeſſion of the ſhip; ſo I retired in the dark from them, that they might not ſee what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me. When I called, as at a good diſtance, one of the men was ordered to ſpeak again, and ſay to the captain—"Captain, the com-"mander calls for you:" and preſently the captain replied—"Tell his excellency I am juſt coming." This more perfectly amuſed them; and they all believed, that the commander was juſt by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for ſeizing the ſhip, which he liked wonderfully well; and reſolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and to be ſecure of ſucceſs, I told him we muſt divide the priſoners, and that he ſhould go and take Atkins, and two more of the worſt of them, and ſend them pinioned to the cave where the others lay. This was committed to Friday, and the two men who came on ſhore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a priſon; and

It

it was indeed a diſmal place, eſpecially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full deſcription: and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was ſecure enough, conſidering they were upon their behaviour.

To theſe in the morning I ſent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be truſted or not to go on board and ſurprize the ſhip. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to the preſent action, yet that if they were ſent to England, they would all be hanged in chains to be ſure; but that if they would join in ſuch an attempt as to recover the ſhip, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may gueſs how readily ſuch a propoſal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promiſed, with the deepeſt imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the laſt drop, and that they ſhould owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived.

"Well," ſays the captain, "I muſt go and tell the "governor what you ſay, and ſee what I can do to bring "him to conſent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very ſecure, I told him he ſhould go back again, and chuſe out five of them, and tell them, that they ſhould ſee that they did not want men; but he would take out thoſe five to be his aſſiſtants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were ſent priſoners to the caſtle, (my cave) as hoſtages, for the fidelity of thoſe five: and that if they

proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hoſtages ſhould be hanged in chains alive upon the ſhore.

This looked ſevere, and convinced them that the governor was in earneſt; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the buſineſs of the priſoners, as much as of the captain, to perſuade the other five to do their duty.

Our ſtrength was now thus ordered for the expedition. 1. The captain, his mate, and paſſenger. 2. Then the two priſoners of the firſt gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and truſted them with arms. 3. The other two, whom I kept till now in my bower pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had releaſed. 4. Theſe five releaſed at laſt. So that they were twelve in all, beſides five we kept priſoners in the cave for hoſtages.

I aſked the captain if he was willing to venture with theſe hands on board the ſhip; for, as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to ſtir, having ſeven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them aſunder, and ſupply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I reſolved to keep them faſt; but Friday went twice a-day to them, to ſupply them with neceſſaries; and I made the other two carry proviſions to a certain diſtance, where Friday was to take it.

When I ſhewed myſelf to the two hoſtages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the perſon, the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleaſure they ſhould not ſtir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they ſhould be fetched into the caſtle, and be laid in irons; ſo that as we never ſuffered them to ſee me as governor, ſo I now appeared as another perſon, and ſpoke of the governor, the garriſon, the caſtle, and the like, upon all occaſions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furniſh his two boats, ſtop the breach of one, and man them,

them. He made his paſſenger captain of one, with four other men; and himſelf, his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they contrived their buſineſs very well; for they came up to the ſhip about midnight. As ſoon as they came within call of the ſhip, he made Robinſon hail them, and tell them he had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them; and the like: holding them in chat, till they came to the ſhip's ſide; when the captain and the mate entering firſt with their arms, immediately knocked down the ſecond mate and carpenter with the butt-end of their muſquets, being very faithfully ſeconded by their men; they ſecured all the reſt that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to faſten the hatches, to keep them down who were below, when the other boat, and their men, entering at the fore-chains, ſecured the fore-caſtle of the ſhip, and the ſkuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there priſoners.

When this was done, and all ſafe upon the deck, the captain ordered the mate with three men to break into the round-houſe, where the new rebel captain lay, and having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy, had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow ſplit open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a muſquet-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate calling for help, ruſhed, however, into the round-houſe, wounded as he was, and with his piſtol ſhot the new captain through the head, the bullets entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; ſo that he never ſpoke a word; upon which the reſt yielded, and the ſhip was taken effectually, without any more lives loſt.

As ſoon as the ſhip was thus ſecured, the captain ordered ſeven guns to be fired, which was the ſignal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his ſucceſs; which

you may be ſure I was very glad to hear, having ſat watching upon the ſhore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the ſignal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I ſlept very ſound, till I was ſomething ſurprized with the noiſe of a gun; and preſently ſtarting up, I heard a man call me by the name of "Governor! Governor!" and preſently I knew the captain's voice; when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he ſtood, and pointing to the ſhip, he embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend "and deliverer," ſays he, "there's your ſhip, for ſhe "is all yours, and ſo are we, and all that belong to her." I caſt my eyes to the ſhip, and there ſhe rode a little more than half a mile of the ſhore; for they had weighed her anchor as ſoon as they were maſters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor juſt againſt the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I firſt landed my rafts, and ſo landed juſt at my door.

I was, at firſt, ready to ſink down with the ſurprize; for I ſaw my deliverance indeed viſibly put into my hands, all things eaſy, and a large ſhip juſt ready to carry me away whither I pleaſed to go. At firſt, for ſome time, I was not able to anſwer one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held faſt by him, or I ſhould have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the ſurprize, and immediately took a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpoſe for me. After I had drank it, I ſat down upon the ground; and though it brought me to myſelf, yet it was a good while before I could ſpeak a word to him.

All this time the poor man was in as great an extaſy as I, only not under any ſurprize as I was; and he ſaid a thouſand kind tender things to me, to compoſe and bring me to myſelf; but ſuch was the flood of joy in my breaſt, that it put all my ſpirits into confuſion: at laſt it

broke into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my ſpeech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer; and we rejoiced together. I told him I looked upon him as a man ſent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole tranſaction ſeemed to be a chain of wonders; that ſuch things as theſe were the teſtimonies we had of a ſecret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence, that the eyes of an Infinite Power could ſearch into the remoteſt corner of the world, and ſend help to the miſerable whenever he pleaſed.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulneſs to Heaven: and what heart could forbear to bleſs Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in ſuch a wilderneſs, and in ſuch a deſolate condition, but from whom every deliverance muſt always be acknowledged to proceed!

When we had talked ſome time, the captain told me, he had brought me ſome little refreſhments, ſuch as the ſhip afforded, and ſuch as the wretches, who had been ſo long his maſters, had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bid his men bring the things aſhore that were for the governor; and indeed it was a preſent, as if I had been one, not that was to be carried along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the iſland ſtill, and they were to go without me.

Firſt, he had brought me a caſe of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, ſix large bottles of Madeira wine, (the bottles held two quarts a-piece;) two pounds of excellent tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ſhip's beef, and ſix pieces of pork with a bag of peas, and about an hundred weight of biſcuit.

He brought me alſo a box of ſugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice; and abundance of other things; but beſides theſe, and what was a thouſand times more uſeful to me, he brought me ſix clean new ſhirts, ſix very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of ſhoes, a hat, and one pair of ſtockings,

ings, and a very good ſuit of cloathes of his own, which had been worn but very little; in a word, he cloathed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable preſent, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumſtances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind ſo unpleaſant, aukward, and uneaſy, as it was to me to wear ſuch cloaths at their firſt putting on.

After theſe ceremonies were paſt, and after all theſe good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to conſult what was to be done with the priſoners we had; for it was worth conſidering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, eſpecially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the laſt degree; and the captain ſaid, he knew they were ſuch rogues, that there was no obliging them; and if he did carry them away, it muſt be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to juſtice at the firſt Engliſh colony he could come at. And I found that the captain himſelf was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he deſired it, I durſt undertake to bring the two men he ſpoke of, to make it their own requeſt that he ſhould leave them upon the iſland. "I ſhould be very glad of that," ſays the captain, "with all my heart."

"Well," ſaid I, "I will ſend for them, and talk "with them for you." So I cauſed Friday and the two hoſtages, for they were now diſcharged, their comrades having performed their promiſe; I ſay, I cauſed them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After ſome time, I went thither dreſſed in my new habit; and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I cauſed the men to be brought before me, when I told them I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ſhip, and were preparin to commit farther robberies; but that Providence

had ſuffered them to be enſnared in their own way, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ſhip had been ſeized, that ſhe lay now in the road, and they might ſee bye and bye, that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy, for that they might ſee him hanging at the yard-arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to ſay, why I ſhould not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commiſſion they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them anſwered in the name of the reſt, that they had nothing to ſay but this, that when they were taken, the captain promiſed them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy. But I told them, I knew not what mercy to ſhew them; for, as for myſelf, I had reſolved to quit the iſland with all my men, and had taken paſſage with the captain to go for England: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England, other than as priſoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny, and running away with the ſhip; the conſequence of which, they muſt needs know, would be the gallows; ſo that I could not tell which was beſt for them, unleſs they had a mind to take their fate in the iſland; if they deſired that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it: I had ſome inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could ſhift on ſhore. They ſeemed very thankful for it; ſaid they would much rather venture to ſtay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged; ſo I left them on that iſſue.

However, the captain ſeemed to make ſome difficulty of it, as if he durſt not leave them there: upon this I ſeemed a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my priſoners, not his; and that ſeeing I had offered ſo much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to conſent to it, I would ſet them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly ſet them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them ſome fire-arms, ſome ammunition, and ſome directions how they ſhould live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepared to go on board the ſhip; but told the captain, that I would ſtay that night to prepare my things, and deſired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ſhip, and ſend the boat on ſhore the next day for me; ordering him in the mean time to cauſe the new captain who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that theſe men might ſee him.

When the captain was gone, I ſent for the men up to my apartment, and entered ſeriouſly into diſcourſe with them of their circumſtances: I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I ſhewed them their captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ſhip, and told them they had nothing leſs to expect.

When they had all declared their willingneſs to ſtay, I then told them I would let them into the ſtory of my living there, and put them into the way of making it eaſy to them; accordingly I gave them the whole hiſtory of the place, and of my coming to it; ſhewed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was neceſſary to make them eaſy; I told them the ſtory alſo of the ſixteen Spaniards that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promiſe to treat them in common with themſelves.

I left them my fire-arms; viz. five muſkets, three fowling-pieces, and three ſwords. I had about a barrel of powder left, for after the firſt year or two I uſed but little, and waſted none. I gave them a deſcription of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheeſe.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own ſtory;

and

and told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gun-powder more, and ſome garden ſeed which I told them I would have been very glad of; alſo I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be ſure to ſow and increaſe them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ſhip. We prepared immediately to ſail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came ſwimming to the ſhip's ſide, and, making a moſt lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ſhip, for God's ſake, for they ſhould be murdered; and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after ſome difficulty, and after their ſolemn promiſes of amendment, they were taken on board, and were ſome time after ſoundly whipped and pickled; after which they proved very honeſt and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, I went with the boat on ſhore, the tide being up, with the things promiſed to the men, to which the captain, at my interceſſion, cauſed their cheſts and cloaths to be added; which they took, and were very thankful for: I alſo encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to ſend a veſſel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this iſland, I carried on board, for reliques, the great goat's-ſkin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; alſo I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me ſo long uſeleſs, that is was grown ruſty, or tarniſhed, and could hardly paſs for ſilver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; and alſo the money I found in the wreck of the Spaniſh ſhip.

And thus I left the iſland, the nineteenth of December, as I found by the ſhip's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months,

months, and nineteen days; being delivered from the ſecond captivity the ſame day of the month that I firſt made my eſcape in the Barco-longo, from among the Moors of Sallee.

In this veſſel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the eleventh of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years abſent.

When I arrived in England, I was as perfect a ſtranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there; my benefactor, and faithful ſteward, whom I had left in truſt with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the ſecond time, and very low in circumſtances. I made her eaſy as to what ſhe owed me, aſſuring her, I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulneſs to me, I relieved her as my little ſtock would afford, which at that time would, indeed, allow me to do but little for her; but I aſſured her I would never forget her former kindneſs to me; nor did I forget her, when I had ſufficient to help her, as ſhall be obſerved in its place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkſhire; but my father was dead, and my mother and all the family extinct; except that I found two ſiſters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no proviſion made for me; ſo that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or aſſiſt me; and that little money I had, would not do much for me as to ſettling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the maſter of the ſhip, whom I had ſo happily delivered, and by the ſame means ſaved the ſhip and cargo, having given a very favourable account to the owners, of the manner in which I had ſaved the lives of the men and the ſhip, they invited me to meet them, and ſome other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handſome compliment upon that ſubject, and a preſent of almoſt two hundred pounds ſterling.

But after making ſeveral reflections upon the circumſtances of my life, and how little way this would go toward ſettling me in the world, I reſolved to go to Liſbon, and ſee if I might not come by ſome information of the ſtate of my plantation in the Brazils, and what was become of my partner, who I had reaſon to ſuppoſe had ſome years given me over for dead.

With this view I took ſhipping for Liſbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honeſtly in all theſe ramblings, and proving a moſt faithful ſervant on all occaſions.

When I arrived at Liſbon, I found out by enquiry, and to my particular ſatisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ſhip who firſt took me up at ſea, off the ſhore of Africa; he was now grown old, and had left off the ſea, having put his ſon, who was far from a young man, into his ſhip; and who ſtill uſed the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me; and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I ſoon brought myſelf to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After ſome paſſionate expreſſions of our old acquaintance, I enquired, you may be ſure, after my plantation, and my partner; the old man told me, he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could aſſure me, that when he came away, my partner was living, but the truſtees, whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being caſt away and drowned, my truſtees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the Procurator Fiſcal; who had appropriated it, in caſe I never came to claim it, one third to the king, and two thirds to the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the converſion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be reſtored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being

diſtributed to charitable uſes, could not be reſtored: but he aſſured me, that the ſteward of the king's revenue, (from lands) and the providore, or ſteward of the monaſtery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to ſay, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I aſked him, if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation; and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I ſhould meet with no obſtruction to my poſſeſſing my juſt right in the moiety.

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that, to the beſt of his remembrance, he had heard, that the king's third of my part, which was, it ſeems, granted away to ſome other monaſtery, or religious houſe, amounted to above two hundred moidores a year; that, as to my being reſtored to a quiet poſſeſſion of it, there was no queſtion to be made of that, my partner being alive to witneſs my title, and my name being alſo enrolled in the regiſter of the country. Alſo he told me, that the ſurvivors of my two truſtees were very fair, honeſt people, and very wealthy; and he believed I would not want their aſſiſtance for putting me in poſſeſſion, but would find a very conſiderable ſum of money in their hands, for my account, being the produce of the farm while their fathers held the truſt, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remembered, was about twelve years.

I ſhewed myſelf a little concerned and uneaſy at this account, and enquired of the old captain, how it came to paſs, that the truſtees ſhould thus diſpoſe of my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portugueze captain, my univerſal heir, &c.

He told me, that was true; but that, as there was

no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until ſome certain account ſhould come of my death, and that, beſides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing ſo remote; that it was true, he had regiſtered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken poſſeſſion of the ingenio, (ſo they called the ſugar-houſe) and had given his ſon, who was now at the Brazils, orders to do it.

"But," ſays the old man, "I have one piece of news "to tell you; which, perhaps, may not be ſo acceptable "to you as the reſt; and that is, that believing you "were loſt, and all the world believing ſo alſo, your "partner and truſtees did offer to account to me in "your name, for ſix or eight of the firſt years profits, "which I received; but their being at that time great "diſburſements for increaſing the works, building an "ingenio, and buying ſlaves, it did not amount to near "ſo much as afterwards it produced. However," ſays the old man, "I ſhall give you a true account of "what I have received in all, and how I have diſ-"poſed of it."

After a few days farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the ſix firſt years income of my plantation, ſigned by my partner, and the merchant's truſtees, being always delivered in goods; viz. tobacco in rolls, and ſugar in cheſts, beſides, rum, melaſſes, &c. which is the conſequence of a ſugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income conſiderably increaſed; but the diſburſement being large, the ſum at firſt was ſmall; however, the old man let me ſee, that he was debtor to me four hundred and ſeventy moidores of gold, beſides ſixty cheſts of ſugar, and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were loſt in his ſhip, he having been ſhipwrecked coming home to Liſbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfor-

tunes, and how he had been obliged to make uſe of my money to recover his loſſes, and buy him a ſhare in a new ſhip. "However, my old friend," ſays he, "you ſhall not want a ſupply in your neceſſity; "and as ſoon as my ſon returns, you ſhall be fully "ſatisfied."

Upon this he took out an old pouch, and gave me two hundred Portugal moidores in gold; and taking the writings of his title to the ſhip which his ſon was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter-part owner, and his ſon another, he put them both in my hands for ſecurity of the reſt.

I was too much moved with the honeſty and kindneſs of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me; how he had taken me up at ſea, and how generouſly he had uſed me on all occaſions, and particularly, how ſincere a friend he was to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he ſaid: I therefore firſt aſked him, if his circumſtances admitted him to ſpare ſo much money at that time, and if it would not ſtraiten him. He told me he could not ſay but it might ſtraiten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good man ſaid was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he ſpoke. In ſhort, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the reſt, and told him, if ever I had poſſeſſion of the plantation, I would return the other to him alſo, as indeed I afterwards did; and that, as to the bill of ſale of his part in his ſon's ſhip, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honeſt enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reaſon to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was paſſed, the old man began to aſk me if he ſhould put me in a method to make my claim to the plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myſelf: he ſaid I might do ſo if I pleaſed; but that if I

did

did not, there were ways enough to ſecure my right, and immediately appropriate the profits to my uſe: and as there were ſhips in the river of Liſbon, juſt ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public regiſter, with his affidavit, affirming, upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the ſame perſon who took up the land for planting the ſaid plantation at firſt.

This being regularly atteſted by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to ſend it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then propoſed my ſtaying with him till an account came of the return.

Never was any thing more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in leſs than ſeven months I received a large packet from the ſurvivors of my truſtees, the merchants, for whoſe account I went to ſea, in which were the following particular letters and papers incloſed.

Firſt, There was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for ſix years; the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the adminiſtration, as being the effects of a perſon not to be found, which they call *civil death*; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation, increaſing, amounted to cruiſadoes which made three thouſand two hundred and forty one moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of the Auguſtines account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was diſpoſed to the hoſpital, very honeſtly declared he had 872 moidores not diſtributed, which he acknowledged to my account. As to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was alſo a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive; giving

me an account how the eſtate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of ſquares or acres it contained; how planted; how many ſlaves there were upon it; and making two and twenty croſſes for bleſſings, told me, he had ſaid ſo many Ave Maria's to thank the Bleſſed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very paſſionately to come over and take poſſeſſion of my own, and in the mean time to give him orders to whom he ſhould deliver my effects, if I did not come myſelf; concluding with an hearty tender of his friendſhip, and that of his family; and ſent me, as a preſent, ſeven fine leopards ſkins, which he had, it ſeems, received from Africa by ſome ſhip, which he had ſent thither, and who, it ſeems, had made a better voyage than I. He ſent me alſo five cheſts of excellent ſweatmeats; and an hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite ſo large as moidores.

By the ſame fleet my two merchant-truſtees ſhipped me one thouſand two hundred cheſts of ſugar, eight hundred rolls of tobacco, and the reſt of the whole account in gold.

I might well ſay now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impoſſible to expreſs the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over theſe letters, and eſpecially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the Brazil ſhips came all in fleets, the ſame ſhips which brought my letters, brought my goods; and the effects were ſafe in the Tagus before the letter came to my hands; in a word, I turned pale, and grew ſick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the ſudden ſurprize of joy had overſet nature, and I had died upon the ſpot.

Nay, after that, I continued very ill, and was ſo ſome hours, till a phyſician being ſent for, and ſomething of the real cauſe of my illneſs being known, he ordered me to be let blood; after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if it had not been eaſed by the vent given in that manner to the ſpirits, I ſhould have died.

I was

I was now maſter all on a ſudden, of above 50,000l. ſterling in money, and had an eſtate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of above a thouſand pounds a year, as ſure as an eſtate of lands in England; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I ſcarce knew how to underſtand, or how to compoſe myſelf for the enjoyment of.

The firſt thing I did, was to recompenſe my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been firſt charitable to me in my diſtreſs, kind to me in the beginning, and honeſt to me at the end. I ſhewed him all that was ſent me: I told him that, next to the Providence of Heaven, which diſpoſes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay in my power to reward him, which I would do an hundred-fold. So I firſt returned to him the hundred moidores I had received of him; then I ſent for a notary, and cauſed him to draw up a general releaſe or diſcharge for the four hundred and ſeventy moidores which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fulleſt and firmeſt manner poſſible; after which, I cauſed a procuration to be drawn, impowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the uſual fleets to him in my name; and a clauſe in the end, being a grant of one hundred moidores a year to him during his life, out of the effects; and fifty moidores a year to his ſon after him, for his life. And thus I requited my old man.

I was now to conſider which way to ſteer my courſe next, and what to do with the eſtate that Providence had thus put into my hands: and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now, than I had in my ſilent ſtate of life in the iſland, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted: whereas, I had now a great charge upon me, and my buſineſs was how to ſecure it. I had never a cave to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarniſhed before any body would meddle with it: on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to truſt with it; my old patron, the

captain,

captain, indeed, was honeſt, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my intereſt in the Brazils ſeemed to ſummon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had ſettled my affairs, and left my effects in ſome ſafe hands behind me. At firſt, I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honeſt, and would be juſt to me; but then ſhe was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; ſo that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myſelf, and take my effects with me.

I was ſome months, however, before I reſolved upon this; and therefore, as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to his ſatisfaction, who had been my former benefactor; ſo I began to think of my poor widow, whoſe huſband had been my firſt benefactor, and ſhe, while it was in her power, my faithful ſteward and inſtructor: ſo the firſt thing I did, I got a merchant in Liſbon to write to his correſpondent in London, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her ſhe ſhould, if I lived, have a farther ſupply. At the ſame time I ſent my two ſiſters in the country, each of them, a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumſtances; one having been married and left a widow, and the other having a huſband not ſo kind to her as he ſhould be.

But, among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one, to whom I durſt commit the groſs of my ſtock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things ſafe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have ſettled myſelf there; for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had ſome little ſcruple in my mind about religion, which inſenſibly drew me back, of which I ſhall ſay more preſently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the preſent;

and,

and, as I had made no ſcruple of being openly of the religion of the country, all the while I was among them, ſo neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having profeſſed myſelf a Papiſt, and thought it might not be the beſt religion to die in.

But, as I have ſaid, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazils, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; ſo I reſolved at laſt to go to England with them, where, if I arrived, I concluded I ſhould make ſome acquaintance, or find ſome relations, that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I determined to go for England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I firſt (the Brazil fleet being juſt going away) reſolved to give anſwers ſuitable to the juſt and faithful account of things I had from thence; and firſt to the Prior of St. Auguſtine I wrote a letter full of thanks for his juſt dealings, and the offer of the eight hundred and ſeventy two moidores, which were undiſpoſed of, which I deſired might be given, five hundred to the monaſtery, and three hundred and ſeventy-two to the poor, as the prior ſhould direct, deſiring the good *padre's* prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my truſtees, with all the acknowledgment that ſo much juſtice and honeſty called for. As for ſending them any preſent, they were far above having occaſion for it.

Laſtly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his induſtry in improving the plantation, and his integrity in increaſing the ſtock of the works, giving him inſtructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I deſired him to ſend whatever became due to me, till he ſhould hear from me more particularly; aſſuring him that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to ſettle myſelf there for the remainder of my life. To

this

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this I added a very handſome preſent of ſome Italian ſilks for his wife and two daughters, for ſuch the captain's ſon informed me he had; with two pieces of fine Engliſh broad cloth, the beſt I could get in Liſbon, five pieces of black baize, and ſome Flanders lace of conſiderable value.

Having thus ſettled my affairs, ſold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England. I had been accuſtomed enough to the ſea, and yet I had a ſtrange averſion to go to England by ſea at that time; and though I could give no reaſon for it, yet the difficulty increaſed upon me ſo much, that though I had once ſhipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by ſea, and this might be one of the reaſons; but let no man ſlight the ſtrong impulſes of his own thoughts in caſes of ſuch moment. Two of the ſhips which I had ſingled out to go in; I mean, more particularly ſingled out than any other; that is to ſay, ſo as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captin; I ſay, two of theſe ſhips miſcarried, viz. one was taken by the Algerines, and the other was caſt away on the Start near Torbay, and all the people drowned except three; ſo that in either of thoſe veſſels I had been made miſerable, and in which moſt, it is hard to ſay.

Having been thus harraſſed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, preſſed me earneſtly not to go by ſea; but either to go by land to the Groyne, and croſs over the Bay of Biſcay to Rochelle, from whence it was but any eaſy and ſafe journey by land to Paris, and ſo to Calais and Dover, or to go up to Madrid, and ſo all the way by land through France.

In a word, I was ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt my going by ſea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I reſolved to travel all the way by land: which, as I was not in haſte, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleaſanter way; and to make it more ſo, my old captain

tain brought an Engliſh gentleman, the ſon of a merchant in Liſbon, who was willing to travel with me. After which we picked up two who were Engliſh merchants alſo, and two young Portugueze gentlemen, the laſt going to Paris only; ſo that we were in all ſix of us, and five ſervants, the two merchants, and the two Portugueze, contenting themſelves with one ſervant between two, to ſave expences; and as for me, I got an Engliſh ſailor to travel with me as a ſervant, beſides my man Friday, who was too much a ſtranger to be capable of ſupplying the place of a ſervant upon the road.

In this manner I ſet out from Liſbon; and our company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well becauſe I was the oldeſt man, as becauſe I had two ſervants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my ſea journals, ſo ſhall I trouble you with none of my land journal: but ſome adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I muſt not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we, being all ſtrangers to Spain, were willing to ſtay ſome time to ſee the court of Spain, and what was worth obſerving; but it being the latter part of the ſummer, we haſtened away, and ſet out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at ſeveral towns on the way, with an account that ſo much ſnow had fallen on the French ſide of the mountains, that ſeveral travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to paſs on.

When we came to Pampeluna, we found it ſo indeed; and to me that had been always uſed to an hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could ſcarce bear any cloaths on, the cold was unbearable; nor, indeed, was it more painful than it was ſurpriſing, to come but ten days before out of the Old Caſtile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot; and immediately to

feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains, ſo very keen, ſo ſeverely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and periſhing of our fingers and toes was very ſtrange.

Poor Friday was really frighted when he ſaw the mountains all covered with ſnow, and felt cold weather which he had never ſeen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to Pampeluna, it continued ſnowing with ſo much violence, and ſo long that the people ſaid—'Winter was coming before its 'time?' and the roads which were difficult before, were now quite impaſſable: in a word, the ſnow lay in ſome places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the caſe in Northern countries, there was no going without danger of being buried alive every ſtep. We ſtaid no leſs than twenty days at Pampeluna; when (ſeeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the ſevereſt winter all over Europe, that had been known many years) I propoſed that we ſhould all go away to Fontarabia, and there take ſhipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were conſidering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who, having been ſtopped on the French ſide of the paſſes, as we were on the Spaniſh, had found out a guide, who, traverſing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by ſuch ways, that they were not much incommoded with the ſnow; and where they met with ſnow in any quantity, they ſaid it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horſes.

We ſent for this guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the ſame way, with no hazard from the ſnow, provided we were armed ſufficiently to protect us from wild beaſts; for, he ſaid, upon theſe great ſnows, it was frequent for ſome wolves to ſhew themſelves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food. We told him we were well enough prepared for ſuch creatures as they were, if he would inſure us

from

from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in moſt danger from, eſpecially on the French ſide of the mountains.

He ſatisfied us that there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: ſo we readily agreed to follow him; as did alſo twelve other gentlemen, with their ſervants, ſome French, ſome Spaniſh, who, as I ſaid, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly, we all ſet out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the 15th of November; and, indeed, I was ſurprized, when, inſtead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the ſame road that we came from Madrid, above twenty miles; when having paſſed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourſelves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleaſant, and no ſnow to be ſeen; but, on a ſudden, turning to the left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadfully, yet he made ſo many tours, ſuch meanders, and led us by ſuch winding ways, we inſenſibly paſſed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the ſnow; and all on a ſudden he ſhewed us the pleaſant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gaſcoigne, all green and flouriſhing; though indeed, they were at a great diſtance, and we had ſome rough way to paſs yet.

We were a little uneaſy, however, when we found it ſnowed one whole day and a night, ſo faſt, that we could not travel; but he bid us be eaſy, we ſhould ſoon be paſt it all. We found, indeed, that we began to deſcend every day, and to come more north than before; and ſo, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being ſomething before us, and not juſt in ſight, out ruſhed three monſtrous wolves, and after them a bear, from an hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood; two of the wolves flew upon the guide; and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured indeed, be-

fore we could have helped him. One of them faſtened upon his horſe, and the other attacked the man, with that violence, that he had not time, or not preſence of mind enough, to draw his piſtol, but hallooed and cried out to us moſt luſtily; my man Friday being next to me, I bid him ride up, and ſee what was the matter. As ſoon as Friday came in ſight of the man, he hallooed as loud as the other—'O maſter! O maſter! But like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the man, and with his piſtol ſhot the wolf that attacked him in the head.

It was happy for the poor man, that it was my man Friday; for he, having been uſed to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him, but went up cloſe to him, and ſhot him, as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther diſtance, and have perhaps, either miſſed the wolf, or endangered ſhooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I; and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noiſe of Friday's piſtol, we heard on both ſides the the diſmalleſt howlings of wolves, and the noiſe redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps, indeed, there was not ſo ſmall a number as that we had no cauſe of apprehenſions.

However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other, that had faſtened upon the horſe, left him immediately and fled, having happily faſtened upon his head, where the boſſes of the bridle had ſtuck in his teeth, ſo that he had not done him much hurt: the man, indeed, was moſt hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was juſt as it were tumbling down by the diſorder of the horſe, when Friday came up and ſhot the wolf.

It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that at the noiſe of Friday's piſtol, we all mended our pace, and rode up as faſt as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to ſee what was the matter: as ſoon as we came clear of

the

the trees, which blinded us before, we ſaw plainly what had been the caſe, and how Friday had diſengaged the poor guide; though we did not preſently diſcern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed ſo hardily, and in ſuch a ſurprizing manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at firſt we were ſurprized and afraid for him) the greateſt diverſion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy clumſy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is ſwift and light, ſo he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions: firſt, as to men, who are not his proper prey; I ſay, not his proper prey, though I cannot ſay what exceſſive hunger might do, which was now their caſe, the ground being all covered with ſnow; yet, as to men, he does not uſually attempt them, unleſs they firſt attack him; on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, though if you do not meddle with him, he won't meddle with you; yet, then, you muſt take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman, he won't go a ſtep out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your beſt way is to look another way, and keep going on; for ſometimes, if you ſtop and ſtand ſtill, and look ſtedfaſtly at him, he takes it for an affront, but if you throw or toſs any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of ſtick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and ſets all other buſineſs aſide to purſue his revenge; for he will have ſatisfaction in point of honour; and this is his firſt quality: the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you night or day, till he has his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horſe; for the man was both hurt and frighted, and indeed the laſt more than the firſt; when, on a ſudden, we ſpied the bear come out of the wood, and a mon-

ſtrous one it was, the biggeſt by far that ever I ſaw. We were all a little ſurprized when we ſaw him; but when Friday ſaw him, it was eaſy to ſee joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: 'O! O! O! (ſays Friday, three times, pointing to him) O maſter, you give me te leave, me ſhakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh.'

I was ſurprized to ſee the fellow ſo pleaſed. 'You fool you (ſaid I) he will eat you up.'—'Eatee me up! eatee me up! (ſays Friday twice over again.) Me eatee him up; me makee you good laugh; you all ſtay here, me ſhew you good laugh.' So down he ſits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps, (as we call the flat ſhoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other ſervant his horſe, and with his gun, away he flew, ſwift like the wind.

The bear was walking ſoftly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday, coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could underſtand him. 'Hark ye, hark ye (ſays Friday) me ſpeake wit you.' We followed at a diſtance; for now being come down to the Gaſcoigne ſide of the mountains, we entered a vaſt great foreſt, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it ſcattered here and there.

Friday, who had, as we ſay, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and taking up a great ſtone and throwing at him, hit him juſt on the head; but it did him no more harm than if he had thrown it againſt a wall: but it anſwered Friday's end; for the rogue was ſo void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and ſhew us ſome laugh, as he called it.

As ſoon as the bear felt the ſtone, and ſaw him, he turned about, and came after him, taking deviliſh long ſtrides, and ſhuffling along at a ſtrange rate, ſo as would put a horſe to a middling gallop; away ran Friday, taking his courſe as if he ran towards us for help; ſo we all reſolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for

bringing

bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his buſineſs another way; and eſpecially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out—'You dog (ſaid I) is this your 'making us laugh? Come away, and take your horſe, 'that we may ſhoot the creature.' He heard me, and cried out—'No ſhoot, no ſhoot; ſtand ſtill, you get 'much laugh!' and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the beaſt's one, he turned on a ſudden, on one ſide of us, and ſeeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpoſe, he beckoned us to follow, and doubling his pace, he got nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or ſix yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear ſoon came to the tree, and as we followed at a diſtance: the firſt thing he did was, to ſtop at the gun, which he ſmelt to, but let it lie, he then ſcrambled into the tree, climbing like a cat, though ſo monſtrouſly heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life ſee any thing to laugh at yet, till finding the bear had got up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the ſmall part of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As ſoon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker—'Ha, (ſays he to us) now you ſee me teachee 'the bear dance!' So he falls a jumping and ſhaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but ſtood ſtill, and looked behind him, to ſee how he ſhould get back; then, indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal. When he ſaw him ſtand ſtill, he called out to him again, as if he had ſuppoſed the bear could ſpeak Engliſh—'What, 'you come no farther? Pray you come farther!' So he left jumping and ſhaking the bough; and the bear, juſt as if he underſtood what he ſaid, did come a little farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear ſtopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and called to Friday to ſtand ſtill, and we would ſhoot the bear; but he cried out earneſtly—'O 'pray! O pray!, no ſhoot; me ſhoot by and then! (he 'would have ſaid) by and by.' However, to ſhorten the ſtory, Friday danced ſo much, and the bear ſtood ſo tickliſh, that we had laughing enough indeed, but ſtill could not imagine what the fellow would do; for firſt we thought he depended upon ſhaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not get out far enough to be thrown down, but clung faſt with his great broad claws and feet, ſo that we could not imagine what would be the end of it and where the jeſt would be at laſt.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for ſeeing the bear cling faſt to the bough, and that he would not be perſuaded to come any farther; 'Well, well, (ſaid Friday) you no come farther, me go, me go; you no 'come to me, me come to you.' And upon this he went to the ſmalleſt end of the bough, where it might bend with his weight, and gently let himſelf down by it, ſliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, took it up, and ſtood ſtill.

'Well (ſaid I to him) Friday, what will you do now? 'Why don't you ſhoot him?—No ſhoot, (ſays Friday) 'no yet; me ſhoot now, me no kill: me ſtay, me give 'you one more laugh.' And indeed ſo he did, as you will ſee preſently; for when the bear ſaw his enemy gone, he came back from the bough where he ſtood, but did it mighty leiſurely, looking behind every ſtep, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree: then, with the ſame hinder end foremoſt, he came down the tree, graſping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leiſurely; at this juncture, and juſt before he could ſet his hind feet upon the ground, Friday ſtepped cloſe to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and ſhot him dead as a ſtone.

Then the rogue turned about, to ſee if we did not

laugh;

laugh; and when he ſaw we were pleaſed by our looks, he fell a laughing himſelf very loud. 'So we kill bear 'in my country, (ſays Friday). So you kill them, (ſaid I;) why, you have no guns.'—'No (ſays he) no 'guns, but ſhoot great much long arrow.'

This was, indeed, a good diverſion to us; but we were ſtill in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of the wolves ran much in my head; and, indeed, except the noiſe I once heard on the ſhore of Africa, of which I have ſaid ſomething already, I never heard any thing that filled me with ſo much horror.

Theſe things, and the approach of night, called us off, or elſe, as Friday would have had us, we ſhould certainly have taken the ſkin of this monſtrous creature off, which was worth ſaving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide haſtened us; ſo we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was ſtill covered with ſnow, though not ſo deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the foreſt, and plain country, preſſed by hunger to ſeek for food, and had done a great deal of miſchief in the villages where they ſurprized the country people, killed many of their ſheep and horſes, and ſome people too.

We had one dangerous place to paſs, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we ſhould find them there; and this was a ſmall plain, ſurrounded with woods on every ſide, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to paſs to get through the wood, and then we ſhould come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of ſun-ſet when we entered the firſt wood, and a little after ſun-ſet when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the firſt wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we ſaw five great wolves croſs the road, full ſpeed one after another, as if they had been in chace of ſome prey, and had it in

view

view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of ſight in a few moments.

Upon this, our guide, who, by the way was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bade us keep in a ready poſture, for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we ſaw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain. As ſoon as we came into the plain, we had occaſion enough to look about us. The firſt object we met with, was a dead horſe, that is to ſay, a poor horſe, which the wolves had killed and at leaſt a dozen of them at work; we could not ſay eating of him, but picking his bones rather, for they had eaten up all the fleſh before.

We did not think fit to diſturb them at their feaſt, neither did they take much notice of us. Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not ſuffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more buſineſs upon our hands than we aware of. We were not half gone over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood, on our left, in a frightful manner; and preſently after we ſaw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and moſt of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I ſcarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found, to draw ourſelves in a cloſe line, was the only way: ſo we formed in a moment; but that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man ſhould fire; and that the others, who had not fired, ſhould ſtand ready to give them a ſecond volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then thoſe who had fired at firſt, ſhould not pretend to load their fuſils again, but ſtand ready, with every one a piſtol; for we were all armed with a fuſil, and a pair of piſtols each man; ſo we were, by this method, able to fire ſix volleys, half of us at a time. However, at preſent, we had no neceſſity; for, upon firing the firſt volley, the enemy made a full ſtop, being terrified, as well with the noiſe, as with the fire;

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four of them, being ſhot in the head, dropped; ſeveral others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could ſee by the ſnow. I found they ſtopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told, that the fierceſt creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I cauſed all our company to halloo as loud as we could; and I found the notion not altogether miſtaken; for, upon our ſhout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a ſecond volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leiſure to charge our pieces again; and that we might loſe no time, we kept doing; but we had but little more than loaded our fuſils, and put ourſelves into readineſs, when we heard a terrible noiſe in the ſame wood on our left; only that it was farther onward the ſame way we were to go.

The night was now coming on, which made it the worſe on our ſide; but the noiſe increaſing, we could eaſily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of thoſe helliſh creatures; and, on a ſudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front; ſo that we ſeemed to be ſurrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as faſt as we could make our horſes go, which, the way being very rough was only a good trot; and in this manner we only came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to paſs, at the farther ſide of the plain; but we were greatly ſurprized, when coming near the lane, or paſs, we ſaw a confuſed number of wolves ſtanding juſt at the entrance.

On a ſudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noiſe of a gun, and, looking that way, out ruſhed a horſe, with a ſaddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and ſixteen or ſeventeen wolves after him, full ſpeed; indeed the horſe had the heels of them; but, as we ſuppoſed he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at laſt, and no queſtion but they did.

Here

Here we had a moſt horrible ſight; for riding up to the entrance where the horſe came out, we found the carcaſe of another horſe, and of two men, devoured by theſe ravenous creatures, and one of the men was, no doubt, the ſame whom we heard fire the gun; for there lay a gun juſt by him fired off; but, as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what courſe to take; but the creatures reſolved us ſoon; for they gathered about us preſently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened, very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay ſome large trees, which had been cut down the ſummer before, and I ſuppoſe lay there for carriage. I drew my little troop in among theſe trees; and placing ourſelves in a line behind one large tree, I adviſed them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us, for a breaſt-work, to ſtand in a triangle, or three fronts incloſing our horſes in the centre.

We did ſo, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place: they came on us with a growling kind of a noiſe, and mounted the piece of timber, (which, as I ſaid, was our breaſt-work) as if they were only ruſhing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it ſeems, was principally occaſioned by their ſeeing our horſes behind us, which was the prey they aimed at. I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim ſo ſure, that indeed they killed ſeveral of the wolves at the firſt volley; but there was a neceſſity to keep a continual firing, for they came forward like devils, thoſe behind puſhing on thoſe before.

When we had fired our ſecond volley of our fuſils, we thought they ſtopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again; ſo we fired our volleys of our piſtols; and I believe in theſe four firings we killed

ſeventeen

or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loth to ſpend our laſt ſhot too haſtily; ſo I called my ſervant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed; for, with the greateſt dexterity imaginable, he charged my fuſil, and his own, while we were engaged; but, as I ſaid, I called my other man, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train: he did ſo, and had but juſt time to get away, when the wolves came up upon it; when I, ſnapping an uncharged piſtol cloſe to the powder, ſet it on fire; and thoſe that were upon the timber were ſcorched with it, and ſix or ſeven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire; we diſpatched theſe in an inſtant, and the reſt were ſo frighted with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon this I ordered our laſt piſtols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a ſhout: upon this the wolves turned tail, and we ſallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found ſtruggling on the ground, and fell cutting them with our ſwords; which anſwered our expectation, for the crying and howling they made were better underſtood by their fellows; ſo that they fled, and left us.

We had, firſt and laſt, killed about three-ſcore of them; and had it been day-light, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again; for we had ſtill near a league to go. We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went ſeveral times, and ſometimes we fancied we ſaw ſome of them, but the ſnow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain: ſo in about an hour more, we came to the town, where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it ſeems, that the night before, the wolves and ſome bears had broken into that village, and put them in a

terrible

terrible fright; and that they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but eſpecially in the night, to preſerve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was ſo ill, and his limbs ſo ſwelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; ſo we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to Tholouſe, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleaſant country, and no ſnow, no wolves, or any thing like them; but when we told our ſtory at Tholouſe, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great foreſt at the foot of the mountains, eſpecially when the ſnow lay on the ground: but they enquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in ſuch a ſevere ſeaſon; and told us, it was very fortunate we were not all devoured. When we told them in what manner we placed ourſelves, and the horſes in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly and told us, it was fifty to one but we had been all deſtroyed; for it was the ſight of the horſes that made the wolves ſo furious, ſeeing their prey; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun; but they being exceſſive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerneſs to come at the horſes had made them ſenſeleſs of danger; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at laſt by the ſtratagem of the train of powder, maſtered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces; whereas, had we been content to have ſat ſtill on horſe-back, and fired as horſemen, they would not have taken the horſes ſo much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwiſe; and withal they told us, that at laſt, if we had ſtood all together, and left our horſes, they would have been ſo eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off ſafe, eſpecially having our fire arms in our hands, and being ſo many in number.

For my part, I was never ſo ſenſible of danger in my life; for ſeeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having no-

thing

thing to ſhelter us or retreat to, I gave myſelf over for loſt; and as it was I believe, I ſhall never care to croſs thoſe mountains again; I think I would much rather go a thouſand leagues by ſea, though I were ſure to meet with a ſtorm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of, in my paſſage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Tholouſe to Paris, and without any conſiderable ſtay came to Calais, and landed ſafe at Dover the 14th of January, after having had a ſevere cold ſeaſon to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new diſcovered eſtate ſafe about me; the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very currently paid.

My principal guide, and privy-counſellor, was my good ancient widow; who, in gratitude for the money I had ſent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I truſted her ſo entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly eaſy as to the ſecurity of my effects; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unſpotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and ſetting out for Liſbon, and ſo to the Brazils; but a ſcruple came in the way, and that was religion: for as I had entertained ſome doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, eſpecially in my ſtate of ſolitude; ſo I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much leſs going to ſettle there, unleſs I reſolved to embrace the Roman Catholick religion without any reſerve; except, on the other hand, I reſolved to be a ſacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the inquiſition; ſo I reſolved to ſtay at home, and if I could meet with the opportunity to diſpoſe of my plantation.

To this purpoſe I wrote to my old friend at Liſbon, who in return gave me notice, that he could eaſily diſ-

poſe of it there: but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the ſurvivors of my truſtees who lived in the Brazils, who muſt fully underſtand the value of it, who lived juſt upon the ſpot, and whom I knew to be very rich, ſo that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt but I ſhould make four or five thouſand pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it to them, and he did ſo; and, in about eight months more, the ſhip being then returned, he ſent me an account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted thirty three thouſand pieces of eight to a correſpondent of theirs at Liſbon, to pay for it.

In return, I ſigned the inſtrument of ſale in the form which they ſent from Liſbon, and ſent it to my old man, who ſent me the bills of exchange for thirty-two thouſand eight hundred pieces of eight for the eſtate; reſerving the payment of one hundred moidores a-year to him, the old man, during his life, and fifty moidores afterwards to his ſon for his life, which I had promiſed them; and which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge.

And thus I have given the firſt part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will ſeldom be able to ſhew the like of; beginning fooliſhly, but cloſing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave ſo much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this ſtate of complicated good fortune, I was paſt running any more hazards; and ſo, indeed I had been, if other circumſtances had occurred; but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations; nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had ſold my eſtate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; eſpecially I could not reſiſt the ſtrong inclination I had to ſee my iſland, and to know

if

if the poor Spaniards were in being there; and how the rogues I left there had uſed them.

My true friend, the widow earneſtly diſſuaded me from it; and ſo far prevailed with me, that almoſt for ſeven years ſhe prevented my going abroad; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care; the eldeſt, having ſomething of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a ſettlement of ſome addition to his eſtate after my deceaſe; the other I put out to a captain of a ſhip; and after five years, finding him a ſenſible, bold, enterprizing young fellow; I put him into a good ſhip, and ſent him to ſea: and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, old as I was, to farther adventures myſelf.

In the mean time, I in part ſettled myſelf here: for firſt of all I married, and that not either to my diſadvantage or diſſatisfaction; and had three children, two ſons and one daughter. But my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good ſucceſs from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ſhip as a private trader to the Eaſt-Indies. This was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I viſited my new colony in the iſland; ſaw my ſucceſſors the Spaniards; had the whole ſtory of their lives, and of the villains I left there: how at firſt they inſulted the poor Spaniards; by what means they afterwards agreed, diſagreed, united, ſeparated, and how at laſt the Spaniards were obliged to uſe violence with them; how they were ſubjected to the Spaniards; how honeſtly the Spaniards uſed them; an hiſtory, if it were entered into, as full of variety and wonderful accidents as my own life; particularly alſo as to their battles with the Caribbeans, who landed ſeveral times upon the iſland, and as to the improvements they made upon the iſland itſelf; with an account of the manner in which they made an attempt upon the main land, and brought away eleven men and five women priſoners;

by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the iſland.

Here I ſtaid about twenty days; left them ſupplies of all neceſſary things, and particularly of arms, powder, ſhot, cloaths, tools, and two workmen, which I brought from England with me; viz. a carpenter, and a ſmith.

Beſides this, I ſhared the land into parts with them, reſerving to myſelf the property of the whole, but gave them ſuch parts, reſpectively, as they agreed on; and having ſettled all things with them, and engaged them not to quit the place, I left them.

From thence I touched at the Brazils, from whence I ſent a bark, which I bought there, with more people on the iſland; and in it, beſides other ſupplies, I ſent ſeven women, being ſuch as I found proper for ſervice, or for wives to ſuch as would take them. As to the Engliſhmen, I promiſed to ſend them ſome women from England, with a good cargo of neceſſaries, if they would apply themſelves to planting; which I afterwards could not perform. The fellows proved very honeſt and diligent after they were maſtered, and had their properties ſet apart for them. I ſent them alſo from the Brazils, five cows, (three of them being big with calf) ſome ſheep, and ſome hogs; which, when I came again, were conſiderably encreaſed.

But all theſe things, with an account how three hundred Caribeans came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations; and how they fought with that whole number twice, and were at firſt defeated and one of them killed; but at laſt a ſtorm deſtroying their enemies canoes, they famiſhed or deſtroyed almoſt all the reſt, and renewed and recovered the poſſeſſion of their plantation, and ſtill lived upon the iſland. All theſe things, with ſome very ſurprizing incidents in ſome new adventures of my own, for ten years more, I may, perhaps give a farther account of hereafter.

That homely proverb, uſed on ſo many occaſions in England, viz. 'That what is bred in the bone will

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'not go out of the flesh;' was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that after thirty five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if ever any, went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fullness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say after all this, any one would have thought, that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world, to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay, farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek. If I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me and for those I had to leave it to, and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do, but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly, the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep: in short,

nothing could remove it out of my mind. It even broke ſo violently into all my diſcourſes, that it made my converſation tireſome; for I could talk of nothing elſe; all my diſcourſe run into it, even to impertinence, and I ſaw it myſelf.

I have often heard perſons of good judgment ſay, that all the ſtir people make in the world about ghoſts and apparitions, is owing to the ſtrength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy on their minds; that there is no ſuch thing as a ſpirit appearing, or a ghoſt walking, and the like: that people's poring affectionately upon the paſt converſation of their deceaſed friends, ſo realizes itſelf to them, that they are capable of fancying upon ſome extraordinary circumſtances, that they ſee them, talk to them, and are anſwered by them; when, in truth, there is nothing but ſhadow and vapour in the thing, and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any ſuch things as real apparations, ſpectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the ſtories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, ſick minds, and wandering fancies: but this I know, that my imagination worked me up to ſuch a heighth, and brought me into ſuch exceſs of vapours, or what elſe I may call it, that I actually ſuppoſed myſelf oftentimes upon the ſpot, at my old caſtle behind the trees; ſaw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate ſailors, whom I left upon the iſland; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them ſo ſteadily, though I was broad awake, as at perſons juſt before me: and this I did till I often frighted myſelf with the images my fancy repreſented to me. One time in my ſleep I had the villainy of the three pirate ſailors ſo lively related to me, by the firſt Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was ſurprizing; they told me how they barbarouſly attempted to murder all the Spaniards; and that they ſet fire to the proviſions they had laid up, on purpoſe to diſtreſs and ſtarve them:

things that I had never heard of, and that yet were all of them true in fact. And it was ſo warm in my imagination, and ſo realized to me, that to the hour I ſaw them, I could not be perſuaded, but that it was, or would be true; alſo how I reſented it, when the Spaniards complained to me; and how I brought them to juſtice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, ſhall be ſeen in its place. For however I came to form ſuch things in my dream, and what ſecret converſe of ſpirits injected it, yet there was, I ſay, very much of it true; I own that this dream, had nothing in it literally and ſpecifically true; but the general part was ſo true, the baſe and villainous behaviour of theſe three hardened rogues was ſuch, and had been ſo much worſe than all I can deſcribe, that the dream had too much ſimilitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſo if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and ſhould have been juſtified both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my ſtory. In this kind of temper I had lived ſome years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleaſant hours, no agreeable diverſion, but what had ſomething or other of this in it; ſo that my wife, who ſaw my mind ſo wholly bent upon it, told me very ſeriouſly one night, that ſhe believed there was ſome ſecret powerful impulſe of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that ſhe found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true ſhe could not think of parting with me; but as ſhe was aſſured, that if ſhe was dead it would be the firſt thing I would do; ſo as it ſeemed to her, that the thing was determined above, ſhe would not be the only obſtruction, for, if I thought fit, and reſolved to go—Here ſhe found me very intent upon her words; and that I looked very earneſtly at her; ſo that it a little diſordered her, and ſhe ſtopped. I aſked her why ſhe did not go on, and ſay out what ſhe was going to ſay. But I perceived her

heart

heart was too full, and ſome tears ſtood in her eyes. ‘ Speak out, my dear, ſays I: ‘ are you willing I ‘ ſhould go?’—‘ No,’ ſays ſhe very affectionately, ‘ I ‘ am far from willing! But if you are reſolved to go,’ ſays ſhe, ‘ rather than I will be the only hindrance, I ‘ will go with you; for though I think it a prepoſte- ‘ rous thing for one of your years, and in your condi- ‘ tion; yet if it muſt be,’ ſaid ſhe again weeping, ‘ I ‘ won’t leave you! for if it be of Heaven, you muſt do ‘ it, there is no reſiſting it; and if Heaven makes it ‘ your duty to go, he will alſo make it mine to go with ‘ you, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of me, that I may not ob- ‘ ſtruct it.’

This affectionate behaviour of my wife brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to conſider what I was doing. I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myſelf ſedately, what buſineſs I had, after three-ſcore years, and after ſuch a life of te- dious ſufferings and diſaſters, and cloſed in ſo happy and eaſy a manner; I ſay, what buſineſs had I to ruſh into new hazards, and put myſelf upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With thoſe thoughts, I conſidered my new engage- ments: that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another, that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to ſeek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of ſeek- ing to increaſe it; that as to what my wife had ſaid of its being an impulſe from Heaven, and that it ſhould be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; ſo, after many of theſe cogitations, I ſtruggled with the power of my imagination, reaſoned myſelf out of it, as I be- lieve people may always do in like caſes if they will; and, in a word, I conquered it; compoſed myſelf with ſuch arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my preſent condition furniſhed me plentifully with; and particularly, as the moſt effectual method, I re ſolved to divert myſelf with other things, and to en-

gage in ſome buſineſs that might effectually prevent me from any more excurſions of this kind; for I found the thoughts returned upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpoſe I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and reſolved to remove myſelf thither. I had a little convenient houſe upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways ſuited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland county, I was removed from converſing with, and things relating to the remote parts of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, ſettled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horſes, cows, ſheep; and, ſetting ſeriouſly to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my ſervants, cultivating the ground, incloſing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought; the moſt agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of retreating to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up, or cut down, as I pleaſed. What I planted was for myſelf; and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the leaſt diſcomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed that middle ſtate of life, which my father ſo earneſtly recommended to me. A kind of heavenly life, ſomething like what is deſcribed by the poet upon the ſubject of a country life:

Free from vices, free from care,
Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare.

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unſeen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable, but drove me by its conſequence, upon a deep relapſe into

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the wandering diſpoſition, which, as I may ſay, being born in my very blood, ſoon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent diſtemper, came on with an irreſiſtible force upon me; ſo that nothing could make any more impreſſion on me. This blow was the loſs of my wife!

It is not my buſineſs here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the ſex by the flattery of a funeral ſermon. She was, in a few words, the ſtay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprizes; the engine, that by her prudence, reduced me to that happy compaſs I was in, from the moſt extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's inſtructions, a friend's counſel, or all my own reaſoning powers could do. I was happy in liſtening to her tears, and in being moved by her intreaties, and to the laſt degree deſolate and diſlocated in the world by the loſs of her.

When ſhe was gone, the world looked aukardly round me: I was as much a ſtranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brazils, when I firſt went on ſhore there; and as much alone, except as to the aſſiſtance of ſervants, as I was in my iſland. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I ſaw the world buſy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other ſquandering it in vile exceſſes or empty pleaſures; equally miſerable, becauſe the end they propoſed ſtill fled from them; for the men of pleaſure were every day ſurfeited of their vices, and heaped up work for ſorrow and repentance; and the men of labour ſpent their ſtrength in daily ſtruggling for bread, to maintain the vital ſtrength they laboured with; ſo living in a daily circulation of ſorrow, living but to work, and working but to live; as if daily-bread were the only end of a weariſome life, and a weariſome life the only occaſion of daily-bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my king-

dom,

dom, the iſland; where I ſuffered no more corn to grow, becauſe I did not want it; and bred no more goats, becauſe I had no more uſe for them; where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildewed, and had ſcarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All theſe things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reaſon and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to ſearch farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was ſomething which certainly was the reaſon and end of life, ſuperior to all theſe things, which was either to be poſſeſſed, or at leaſt hoped for on this ſide the grave.

But my ſage counſellor was gone; I was like a ſhip without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind. My thoughts ran all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimſies of foreign adventures; and all the pleaſing innocent amuſements of my farm and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely poſſeſſed me, were nothing to me, had no reliſh, and were like muſic to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taſte. In a word, I reſolved to leave off houſekeeping, let my farm, and return to London. And in a few months after, I did ſo.

When I came to London, I was ſtill as uneaſy as before; I had no reliſh to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to ſaunter about like an idle perſon, of whom it may be ſaid, he is perfectly uſeleſs in God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the reſt of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This alſo was the thing, which of all circumſtances of life was the moſt my averſion, who had been all my days uſed to an active life; and I would often ſay to myſelf, "A ſtate "of idleneſs is the very dregs of life!" And, indeed, I thought I was much more ſuitably employed, when I was twenty-ſix days making a deal-board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I have obſerved before, I had brought up to the ſea, and had made him commander of a ſhip, was come home from a ſhort voyage to Bilboa,

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being the firſt he had made. He came to me, and told me that ſome merchants of his acquaintance had been propoſing to him to go a voyage for them to the Eaſt-Indies, and to China, as private traders. "And now, "uncle," ſays he, "if you will go to ſea with me, "I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in "the iſland, for we are to touch at the Brazils."

Nothing can be a greater demonſtration of a future ſtate, and of the exiſtence of an inviſible world, than the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with the ideas of this, which we form in our minds, perfectly reſerved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my diſtemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to ſay; when that very morning before he came to ſee me, I had, in a great deal of confuſion of thought and revolving every part of my circumſtances in my mind, come to this reſolution, viz. that I would go to Liſbon, and conſult with my old ſea-captain; and ſo, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and ſee the iſland again, and ſee what was become of my people there. I had pleaſed myſelf alſo with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the poſſeſſion, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have ſaid, with his project of carrying me thither in his way to the Eaſt-Indies.

I pauſed awhile at his words, and looking ſteadily at him—"What devil," ſaid I, "ſent you on this un-"lucky errand?" My nephew ſtartled, as if he had been frighted at firſt, but perceiving I was not much diſpleaſed with the propoſal, he recovered himſelf. "I "hope it may not be an unlucky propoſal, Sir," ſays he, "I dare ſay you would be pleaſed to ſee your new "colony there, where you once reigned with more fe-"licity than moſt of your brother Monarchs in the "world."

In a word, the ſcheme hit ſo exactly with my temper, that is to ſay, with the prepoſſeſſion I was under,

under, and of which I have ſaid ſo much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go witn him: but I told him, I would not promiſe to go any farther than my own iſland. "Why, "Sir," ſays he, "you don't want to be left there "again, I hope?"—"Why," ſaid I, "can you not "take me up again in your return?" He told me, it would not be poſſible to do ſo; that the merchants would never allow him to come that way with a loaden ſhip of ſuch value, it being a month's ſail out of his way, and might be three or four. "Beſides, Sir, if I "ſhould miſcarry," ſaid he, "and not return at all, "then you would be juſt reduced to the condition you "were in before."

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed ſloop on board the ſhip, which, being taken in pieces, and ſhipped on board the veſſel, might, by the help of ſome carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be put together again in the iſland, and finiſhed, fit to go to ſea in a few days.

I was not long reſolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in ſo effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppoſe me. On the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody that concerned themſelves ſo much for me, as to perſuade me one way or the other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earneſtly remonſtrated with me to conſider my years, my eaſy circumſtances, and the needleſs hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children. But it was all to no purpoſe, I had an irreſiſtible deſire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was ſomething ſo uncommon in the impreſſions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of reſiſting Providence, if I ſhould attempt to ſtay at home. After this ſhe ceaſed her expoſtulations; and joined with me not only in making proviſion for my voyage, but alſo in ſettling my family-affairs in my abſence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and ſettled the eſtate I had in ſuch a manner for my children, and placed it in ſuch hands, that I was perfectly eaſy and ſatisfied they would have juſtice done them, whatever might befal me; as for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a ſufficient maintenance to herſelf for her care. All which ſhe richly deſerved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or underſtood it better; and as ſhe lived till I came home, I alſo lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to ſail about the beginning of January, 1694-5; and I, with my man Friday, went on board, in the Downs, the 8th, having, beſides that ſloop which I mentioned above, a very conſiderable cargo of all kinds of neceſſary things for my colony, which if I did not find in a good condition, I reſolved to leave ſo.

Firſt, I carried with me ſome ſervants, whom I purpoſed to place there as inhabitants, or at leaſt, to ſet to work there upon my own account while I ſtaid, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they ſhould appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, a ſmith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was alſo a general mechanic, for he was dextrous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn; was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he alſo made any thing that was proper to form of earth, or wood; in a word, we called him our "Jack of all trades."

With theſe I carried a taylor, who had offered himſelf to go paſſenger to the Eaſt-Indies with my nephew, but afterwards conſented to ſtay on our new plantation, and proved a moſt neceſſary handy fellow, as could be deſired, in many other employments beſides that of his trade; for, as I obſerved before, neceſſity arms us againſt all difficulties.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of particulars, conſiſted of a ſufficient quantity of linen, and ſome thin Engliſh ſtuffs, for

cloathing

cloathing the Spaniards that I expected to find there; and enough of them, as, by my calculation, might comfortably ſupply them for ſeven years. If I remember right, the materials which I carried for cloathing them, with gloves, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings, and all ſuch things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200l. including ſome beds, bedding, and houſhold-ſtuff, particularly kitchen-utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, &c. beſides near 100l. more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, ſtaples, hooks, hinges, and every neceſſary thing I could think of.

I carried alſo a hundred ſpare arms, muſquets and fuſils, beſides ſome piſtols, a conſiderable quantity of ſhot of all ſizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of braſs cannon; and becauſe I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried an hundred barrels of powder, beſides ſwords and cutlaſſes, and the iron part of ſome pikes and halberts; ſo that, in ſhort, we had a large magazine of all ſorts of ſtores; and I made my nephew carry two ſmall quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ſhip, to leave behind, if there was occaſion; that, when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it againſt all ſorts of enemies: and indeed I at firſt thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our poſſeſſion of the iſland.

I had not ſuch bad luck in this voyage as I had been uſed to meet with; and therefore ſhall have the leſs occaſion to interrupt the reader, who, perhaps, may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet, ſome odd accidents, croſs winds, and bad weather, happened on our firſt ſetting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at firſt; and I, who had never made but one voyage, (viz. my firſt voyage to Guinea) in which I might be ſaid to come back again, as the voyage was at firſt deſigned, began to think the ſame ill fate ſtill attended me, and that I was born to be never contented with my own ſhore, and yet to be always unfortunate at ſea.

Contrary winds firſt drove us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and thirty-days; but we had this ſatisfaction with the diſaſter, that proviſions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmoſt plenty; ſo that while we lay here, we never touched the ſhip's ſtores, but rather added to them. Here alſo I took ſeveral hogs, and two cows with their calves, which I reſolved, if I had a good paſſage, to put aſhore in my iſland; but we found occaſion to diſpoſe of them otherwiſe.

We ſet out the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for ſome days. According to my remembrance, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening, late, when the mate, having the watch, came into the round-houſe, and told us, he ſaw a flaſh of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatſwain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for awhile we heard nothing: but in a few minutes we ſaw a very great light, and found that there was ſome very terrible fire at a diſtance. Immediately we had recourſe to our reckonings, in which we all agreed, that there could be no land that way in which the fire ſhewed itſelf; no, not for 500 leagues; for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this, we concluded it muſt be ſome ſhip on fire at ſea; and as, by our hearing the noiſe of guns juſt before, we concluded it could not be far off, we ſtood directly towards it, and were preſently ſatisfied we ſhould diſcover it, becauſe the farther we ſailed, the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for awhile. In about half an hour's ſailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly diſcern that it was a great ſhip on fire in the middle of the ſea. I was moſt ſenſibly touched with this diſaſter, though not at all acquainted with the perſons engaged in it. I preſently recollected my former

circumſtances,

circumſtances, in what condition I was when taken up by the Portugueze captain; and how much more deplorable the circumſtances of the poor creatures belonging to the ſhip muſt be, if they had no other ſhip in company with them. Upon this, I immediately ordered that five guns ſhould be fired, one ſoon after another, that, if poſſible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to ſave themſelves in their boat; for though we could ſee the flame in the ſhip, yet they, it being night, could ſee nothing of us.

We lay by ſome time upon this, only driving as the burning ſhip drove, waiting for day-light; when on a ſudden, to our great terror, though we had reaſon to expect it, the ſhip blew up in the air, and immediately (that is to ſay, in a few minutes) all the fire was out; that is to ſay, the reſt of the ſhip ſunk. This was terrible, and indeed an afflicting ſight, for the ſake of the poor men, who, I concluded, muſt be either all deſtroyed in the ſhip, or be in the utmoſt diſtreſs in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which, at preſent from its being dark, I could not ſee; however, to direct them as well as I could, I cauſed lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ſhip where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ſhip not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we diſcovered the ſhip's boats, by the help of our perſpective-glaſſes; and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water. We perceived they rowed, the wind being againſt them; that they ſaw our ſhip, and did the utmoſt to make us ſee them.

We immediately ſpread our ancient, to let them know we ſaw them, and hung a waſt out, as a ſignal for them to come on board; and then made more ſail, ſtanding directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them; and, in a word, took them all in, being no leſs than ſixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many paſſengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ſhip of 300 tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The maſter gave us a long account of the diſtreſs of his ſhip, how the fire began in the ſteerage, by the negligence of the ſteerſman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out. But they ſoon found, that ſome ſparks of the firſt fire had got into ſome part of the ſhip, ſo difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ſhip, it proceeded into the hold, and maſtered all the ſkill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then, but to get into their boats, which to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long-boat, and a great ſhallop, beſides a ſmall ſkiff, which was of no great ſervice to them, other than to get ſome freſh water and proviſions into her, after they had ſecured themſelves from the fire. They had indeed ſmall hope of their lives by getting into theſe boats at that diſtance from any land; only, as they juſtly ſaid, that they were eſcaped from the fire, and had a poſſibility that ſome ſhip might happen to be at ſea and might take them in. They had ſails, oars, and a compaſs, and were preparing to make the beſt of their way to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an eaſy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much proviſion and water, as, with ſparing it ſo as to be nearly ſtarving, might ſupport them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain ſaid, he hoped he might get to the Banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take ſome fiſh to ſuſtain them till they might go on ſhore. But there were ſo many chances againſt them in all theſe caſes; ſuch as ſtorms to overſet and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and periſh their limbs: contrary winds to keep them out and ſtarve them; that it muſt have been next to miraculous if they had eſcaped.

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In the midſt of theſe conſultations, every one being hopeleſs and ready to deſpair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a ſudden ſurprized with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; theſe were the five guns which I cauſed to be fired at firſt ſeeing the light; this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I deſigned it ſhould, viz. that there was a ſhip at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing of theſe guns that they took down their maſts and ſails; and the ſound coming from the windward, they reſolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muſquets, one, a conſiderable while after another; but theſe, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were ſtill more agreeably ſurpriſed with ſeeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have ſaid, I cauſed to be fired all the reſt of the night; this ſet them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at leaſt that we might the ſooner come up with them; and at laſt, to their inexpreſſible joy, they found we ſaw them.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the ſeveral geſtures, the ſtrange extaſies, the variety of poſtures, which theſe poor delivered people run into, to expreſs the joy of their ſouls at ſo unexpected a deliverance; grief and fear are eaſily deſcribed; ſighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the ſum of its variety; but an exceſs of joy, a ſurprize of joy, has a thouſand extravagancies in it; there were ſome in tears, ſome raging and tearing themſelves, as if they had been in the greateſt agonies of ſorrow: ſome ſtark raving and downright lunatic; ſome ran about the ſhip ſtamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; ſome were dancing, ſeveral ſinging, ſome laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to ſpeak a word; others ſick and vomiting; ſeveral ſwooning, and ready to faint; and a few were croſſing themſelves, and giving God thanks.

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I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterward; but the paſſion was too ſtrong for them at firſt, and they were not able to maſter it: they were thrown into extaſies and a kind of frenzy, and ſo there were but a very few who were compoſed and ſerious in their joy.

Perhaps alſo the caſe may have ſome addition to it, from the particular circumſtance of the nation they belonged to: I mean, the French, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, more paſſionate, and more ſprightly, and their ſpirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not philoſopher enough to determine the cauſe, but nothing I had ever ſeen before came up to it; the extaſies poor Friday, my truſty ſavage was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the neareſt to it; and the ſurprize of the maſter, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the two villains that ſet them on ſhore in the iſland, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I ſaw in Friday, or any where elſe in my life.

It is farther obſerveable, that theſe extravagancies did not ſhew themſelves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different perſons only; but all the variety would appear in a ſhort ſucceſſion of moments in one and the ſame perſon. A man that we ſaw this minute dumb, and, as it were, ſtupid and confounded, ſhould the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment tearing his hair, or pulling his cloaths to pieces, and ſtamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we ſhould have him all in tears, then ſick, then ſwooning: and had not immediate help been had, would, in a few moments more, have been dead: and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greateſt part of them; and, if I remember right, our ſurgeon was obliged to bleed above thirty of them.

There were two prieſts among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was ſtrangeſt was, that the oldeſt man was the worſt.

As ſoon as he ſet his foot on board our ſhip, and ſaw himſelf ſafe, he dropped down ſtone-dead, to all appearance; not the leaſt ſign of life could be perceived in him; our ſurgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ſhip that believed he was not dead; and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having firſt chafed and rubbed the part, ſo as to warm it as much as poſſible; upon this the blood, which only dropped at firſt, flowed ſomething freely; in three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he ſpoke, grew better, and in a little time quite well: after the blood was ſtopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial, which the ſurgeon gave him, and was, what we call come to himſelf. About a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the ſurgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the prieſt was gone ſtark mad. It ſeems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumſtances in his mind, and this put him into an extaſy of joy: his ſpirits whirled about faſter than the veſſels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feveriſh: and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it: the ſurgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him ſomething to doze and put him to ſleep; which, after ſome time operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly compoſed and well.

The younger prieſt behaved himſelf with great command of his paſſion, and was really an example of a ſerious well-governed mind. At his firſt coming on board the ſhip, he threw himſelf flat on his face, proſtrating himſelf in thankfulneſs for his deliverance: in which I unhappily and unſeaſonably diſturbed him, really thinking he had been a ſwoon; but he ſpake calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance: begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks alſo.

I was heartily ſorry that I diſturbed him: and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him alſo. He continued in that poſture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him: then came to me, as he had ſaid he would, and with a great deal of ſerioufneſs and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, who had under God, given him and ſo many miſerable creatures their lives. I told him, I had no cauſe to move him to thank God for it rather than me, for I had ſeen that he had done that already: but I added, that it was nothing but what reaſon and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reaſon as he to give thanks to God, who had bleſſed us ſo far as to make us the inſtruments of his mercy to ſo many of his creatures.

After this, the young prieſt applied himſelf to his country-folks, laboured to compoſe them: perſuaded, intreated, argued, reaſoned with them, and did his utmoſt to keep them within the exerciſe of their reaſon: and with ſome he had ſucceſs, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themſelves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be uſeful to thoſe into whoſe hands it may fall, in the guiding themſelves in all the extravagancies of their paſſions: for if an exceſs of joy can carry men out to ſuch a length beyond the reach of their reaſon, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind carry us to! And, indeed, here I ſaw reaſon for keeping an extraordinary watch over our paſſions of every kind, as well thoſe of joy and ſatisfaction, as thoſe of ſorrow and anger.

We were ſomething diſordered by theſe extravagancies among our new gueſts for the firſt day: but when they had retired to lodgings provided for them as well as our ſhip would allow, and they had ſlept heartily, as moſt of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another ſort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgements for the kindneſs ſhewn them, was wanting: the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to ex-

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ceed that way. The captain and one of the prieſts came to me the next day: and, deſiring to ſpeak with me and my nephew, began to conſult with us what ſhould be done with them; and firſt they told us, that, as we had ſaved their lives, ſo all they had was little enough as a return to us for the kindneſs received. The captain ſaid, they had ſaved ſome money, and ſome things of value in their boats, catched haſtily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only deſired to be ſet on ſhore ſomewhere in our way, where, if poſſible, they might get a paſſage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at the firſt word, and conſidering what to do with them afterwards: but I over-ruled him in that part, for I knew what it was to be ſet on ſhore in a ſtrange country; and if the Portugal captain, that took me up at ſea, had ſerved me ſo, and took all I had for my deliverance, I muſt have ſtarved, or have been as much a ſlave at the Brazils as I had been at Barbary, the being ſold to a Mahometan only excepted; and perhaps a Portugueze is not a much better maſter than a Turk, if not, in ſome caſes, a much worſe.

I therefore told the French captain, that we had taken them up in their diſtreſs, it was true; but that it was our duty to do ſo, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would deſire to be ſo delivered if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their caſe and they in ours; but that we took them up to ſerve them, not to plunder them; and that it would be a moſt barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had ſaved out of the fire, and then ſet them on ſhore and leave them; for this would be firſt to ſave them from death, and then kill them ourſelves; ſave them from drowning, and then abandon them to ſtarving; and therefore I would not let the leaſt thing be taken from them. As to ſetting them on ſhore, I told them, indeed, that was an ex-

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ceeding great difficulty to us, for the ſhip was bound to the Eaſt-Indies; and though we were driven out of our courſe to the weſtward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by Heaven on purpoſe for their deliverance, yet it was impoſſible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account: nor could my nephew, the captain, anſwer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter party to purſue his voyage by the way of Brazil; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourſelves in the way of meeting with other ſhips homeward-bound from the Weſt-Indies, and get them paſſage, if poſſible, to England or France.

The firſt part of the propoſal was ſo generous and kind, that they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a great conſternation, eſpecially the paſſengers, at the notion of being carried away to the Eaſt Indies. They then intreated me, that ſeeing I was driven ſo far to the weſtward before I met with them, I would at leaſt keep on the ſame courſe to the Banks of Newfoundland, where it was poſſible I might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reaſonable requeſt on their part, and therefore I was inclined to agree to it; for indeed, I conſidered, that to carry this whole company to the Eaſt-Indies, would not only be an intolerable ſeverity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our proviſions; ſo I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeſeen accident made abſolutely neceſſary to us, and in which no one could ſay we were to blame: for the laws of God and nature would have forbid that we ſhould refuſe to take up two boats full of people in ſuch a diſtreſſed condition: and the nature of the thing, as well reſpecting ourſelves as the poor people, obliged us to ſee them on ſhore, ſomewhere or other for their deliverance: ſo I conſented that we ſhould carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit: and, if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the Weſt-Indies.

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The wind continued freſh eaſterly, but the weather pretty good: and as it had blowed continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we miſſed ſeveral opportunities of ſending them to France: for we met ſeveral ſhips bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Chriſtopher's; but they had been ſo long beating up againſt the wind, that they durſt take in no paſſengers, for fear of wanting proviſions for the voyage, as well for themſelves as for thoſe they ſhould take in; ſo we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the Banks of Newfoundland; where, to ſhorten my ſtory, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at ſea there, to put them on ſhore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get proviſion to victual themſelves with. When I ſay all the French went on ſhore, I ſhould remember, that the young prieſt I ſpoke of, hearing we were bound to the Eaſt-Indies, deſired to go the voyage with us, and to be ſet on ſhore on the coaſt of Coromandel: I readily agreed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reaſon, as will appear afterwards; alſo four of the ſeamen entered themſelves in our ſhip, and proved very uſeful fellows.

From hence we directed our courſe for the Weſt-Indies, ſteering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, ſometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another ſubject for our humanity to work upon, almoſt as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of twenty-ſeven degrees, five minutes N. and the 19th day of March, 1694-5, when we eſpied a ſail, our courſe S. E. and by S. We ſoon perceived it was a large veſſel, and that ſhe bore up to us; but could not at firſt know what to make of her, till after coming a little nearer, we found ſhe had loſt her main-top-maſt, fore-maſt, and boltſprit; and preſently ſhe fired a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs; the weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a freſh gale, and we ſoon came to ſpeak with her.

We found her a ſhip of Briſtol, bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before ſhe was ready to ſail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on ſhore; ſo that, beſide the terror of the ſtorm, they were but in an indifferent caſe for good artiſts to bring the ſhip home; they had been already nine weeks at ſea, and had met with another terrible ſtorm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the weſtward, and in which they loſt their maſts, as above. They told us, they expected to have ſeen the Bahama iſlands, but were driven away again to the ſouth-eaſt, by a ſtrong gale of wind at N. N. W. the ſame that blew now, and having no ſails to work the ſhip with, but a main-courſe and a kind of ſquare ſail upon a jury-foremaſt, which they had ſet up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to ſtand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worſt of all was, that they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſions; beſides the fatigues they had undergone, their bread and fleſh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ſhip, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had was, their water was not all ſpent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had ſugar enough; ſome ſuccades or ſweetmeats they had at firſt, but they were devoured; and they had ſeven caſks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid ſervant, on boārd, who were going paſſengers, and thinking the ſhip was ready to ſail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no proviſions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the reſt; for the ſeamen, being reduced to ſuch an extreme neceſſity themſelves, had no compaſſion, we may be ſure, for the poor paſſengers; and they were indeed, in ſuch a condition, that their miſery is very hard to deſcribe.

I had, perhaps, not known this part, if my curioſity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the

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wind abated, to go on board the ſhip. The ſecond mate, who upon this occaſion commanded the ſhip, had been on board our ſhip; and he told me, indeed, that they had three paſſengers in the great cabin, and that they were in a deplorable condition: 'Nay (ſays he) I 'believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them 'for above two days; and I was afraid to enquire after 'them, for I had nothing to relieve them with.'

We immediately applied ourſelves to give them what relief we could ſpare; and, indeed, I had ſo far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any part of the coaſt of America, to have ſupplied ourſelves; but there was no neceſſity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate or commander brought ſix men with him in this little boat; but theſe poor wretches looked like ſkeletons, and were ſo weak, they could hardly ſit to their oars: the mate himſelf was very ill, and half-ſtarved; for he declared he had reſerved nothing from the men, and went ſhare and ſhare alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat ſparingly, but ſet meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be ſick and out of order; ſo he ſtopped awhile, and our ſurgeon mixed him up ſomething with ſome broth, which he ſaid would be to him both food and phyſic; and after he had taken it, he grew better: in the mean time, I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it; they were ſo exceeding hungry, that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themſelves; and two of them eat with ſo much greedineſs, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The ſight of theſe people's diſtreſs was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible proſpect of at my firſt coming on ſhore in my iſland, where I

had not the leaſt mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it; beſides the hourly apprehenſion I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miſerable condition of the ſhip's company, I could not put out of my thought the ſtory he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin: viz. the mother, her ſon, and the maid-ſervant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and whom he ſeemed to confeſs they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being ſo great; by which I underſtood, that they had really given them no food at all, and that therefore they muſt be periſhed, and be all lying dead, perhaps, on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men, to refreſh them, ſo I alſo forgot not the ſtarving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ſhip, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our ſurgeon charged the men to cauſe the meat to be boiled while they ſtaid, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men's taking it to eat it raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time: and by this caution he preſerved the men, who would otherwiſe have killed themſelves with that very food that was given them on purpoſe to ſave their lives.

At the ſame time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and ſee in what condition the poor paſſengers were; and if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreſhment was proper, and the ſurgeon gave him a large pitcher of ſome of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not queſtion would reſtore them gradually.

I was now ſatisfied with this: but, as I ſaid above, having a great mind to ſee the ſcene of miſery, which I knew the ſhip itſelf would preſent me with, in a more

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lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ſhip, as we now called him, with me, and went myſelf a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almoſt in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready. But my mate obſerved his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after uſing all poſſible perſuaſion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he cauſed ſome biſcuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and ſoftened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call *brewis*, and gave them every one one, to ſtay their ſtomachs: and told them, it was for their own ſafety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain; and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and ſome threats alſo of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into my cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words, indeed, are of very ſmall force to an hungry belly. However, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiouſly for the firſt time, and the next time gave them more, and at laſt filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the miſery of the poor paſſengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the reſt; for as, firſt, the ſhip's company had ſo little for themſelves, it was but too true, that they had at firſt kept them very low, and at laſt totally neglected them; ſo that for ſix or ſeven days, it might be ſaid, they really had no food at all, and for ſeveral days before very little.

The poor mother who, as the firſt mate reported, was a woman of good ſenſe and good breeding, had ſpared all ſhe could get ſo affectionately for her ſon, that at laſt ſhe entirely ſunk under it; and when the mate of our ſhip went in, ſhe ſat upon the floor or deck, with her back up againſt the ſides, between two chairs, which were laſhed faſt, and her head ſunk in between her ſhoulders, like a corpſe though not quite dead. My

mate ſaid all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a ſpoon put ſome broth into her mouth. She opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not ſpeak: yet ſhe underſtood what he ſaid, and made ſigns to him, intimating, that it was too late for her; but pointed to her child, as if ſhe would have ſaid, they ſhould take care of him.

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the ſight, endeavoured to get ſome of the broth into her mouth; and as he ſaid, got two or three ſpoonfuls down, though I queſtion whether he could be ſure of it or not: but it was too late, and ſhe died the ſame night.

The youth, who was preſerved at the price of his moſt affectionate mother's life, was not ſo far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed, as one ſtretched out, with hardly any life left in him: he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the reſt of it; however, being young, and having more ſtrength than his mother, the mate got ſomething down his throat, and he began ſenſibly to revive; though by giving him, ſome time after, but two or three ſpoonfuls extraordinary, he was very ſick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid. She lay all along upon the deck hard by her miſtreſs, and juſt like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and ſtruggled for life: her limbs were diſtorted; one of her hands was claſped round the frame of one chair, and ſhe griped it ſo hard, that we could not eaſily make her let it go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin-table; in ſhort ſhe lay juſt like one in the laſt agonies of death, and yet ſhe was alive too.

The poor creature was not only ſtarved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her miſtreſs, whom ſhe ſaw dying two or three days before, and whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for

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when our ſurgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her ſenſes; for ſhe was little leſs than diſtracted for a conſiderable time after.

Whoever ſhall read theſe memorandums, muſt be deſired to conſider, that viſits at ſea are not like a journey into the country, where ſometimes people ſtay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our buſineſs was to relieve this diſtreſſed ſhip's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to ſteer the ſame courſe with us for ſome days, yet we could carry no ſail to keep pace with a ſhip that had no maſts. However, as their captain begged of us to help him to ſet up a main-top-maſt, and a kind of top-maſt to his jury-fore-maſt, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could ſpare; and taking three caſks of ſugar, and ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight of them for ſatisfaction, we left them; taking on board with us, at their own earneſt requeſt, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about ſeventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modeſt, and ſenſible youth; greatly dejected with the loſs of his mother, and, as it ſeems, had loſt his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the ſurgeon to ſpeak to me, to take him out of the ſhip; for, he ſaid, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed, ſo they had, that is to ſay, paſſively; for they might have ſpared a ſmall ſuſtenance to the poor helpleſs widow, that might have preſerved her life, though it had been juſt to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no juſtice, no right; and therefore is remorſeleſs, and capable of no compaſſion.

The ſurgeon told him how far we were going, and that it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps, in as bad circumſtances almoſt as we found

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them, that is to ſay, ſtarving in the world. He ſaid, it mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had ſaved his life, and he was ſure would not hurt him,, and as for the maid, he was ſure, if ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The ſurgeon repreſented the caſe ſo affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogſheads of ſugar, which could not be removed or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander ſign a writing, obliging him to go, as ſoon as he came to Briſtol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth ſaid he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceaſed widow,which I ſuppoſe was not done; for I could never learn that the ſhip came to Briſtol, but was, as is moſt probable, loſt at ſea, being in ſo diſabled a condition, and ſo far from any land, that I am of opinion, the firſt ſtorm ſhe met with afterwards ſhe might founder in the ſea; for ſhe was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 degrees 32 minutes, and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at firſt the winds had been contrary. I ſhall not trouble my readers with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the reſt of our voyage; but ſhortening my ſtory for the ſake of what is to follow, ſhall obſerve, that I came to my old habitation, the iſland, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no ſmall difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt-ſide of the iſland, as coming from the Brazils, ſo now coming in between the main and the iſland, and having no chart for the coaſt, nor any land-mark, I did not know it when I ſaw it, or know whether I ſaw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on ſhore on ſe-

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veral islands in the mouth of the great River Oroonoque, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent, which I thought I saw from the island I lived in was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river: and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of the islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but, speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch pearl mussels if they could, but they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop, (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will) at length I came fair on the south-side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was. He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried—'O yes! 'O there! O yes! O there!' pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

'Well, Friday, (said I) do you think we shall find 'any body here or no? And what do you think, shall 'we see your father?' The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could

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ſee the tears run down his face very plentifully. 'What 'is the matter, Friday? (ſaid I) are you troubled be- 'cauſe you may ſee your father?'—'No, no, (ſays he ſhaking his head) no ſee him more, no ever more ſee 'again.—' Why ſo (ſaid I) Friday? How do you 'know that?—(O no! O no! ſay Friday) he long ago 'die; long ago, he much old man.—Well, well (ſaid I) Friday you don't know. But ſhall we ſee any one 'elſe then?' The fellow, it ſeems, had better eyes than I, and he pointed juſt to the hill above my old houſe, and though we lay half a league off, he cried out—' Me ſee! me ſee! yes, yes, me ſee much man there, and there, and there.' I looked, but I could ſee nobody, no, not with a perſpective-glaſs; which was, I ſuppoſe, becauſe I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon enquiry the next day, and there were five or ſix men altogether ſtood to look at the ſhip, not knowing what to think of us.

As ſoon as Friday had told me he ſaw people, I cauſed the Engliſh ancient to be ſpread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a ſmoke riſe from the ſide of the creek; ſo I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on ſhore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole ſtory of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myſelf and thoſe I left there; and who was, on that account, extremely deſirous to go with me. We had beſides about ſixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new gueſt there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on ſhore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek, and the firſt man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whoſe life I had ſaved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I ſhall deſcribe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on ſhore at firſt but my-

felf, but there was no keeping Friday in the boat; for the affectionate creature had ſpied his father at a diſtance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I ſaw nothing of him; and, if they had not let him go on ſhore, he would have jumped into the ſea. He was no ſooner on ſhore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man ſhed tears, in ſpite of the firmeſt reſolution, to have ſeen the firſt tranſports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kiſſed him, ſtroaked his face, took him up in his arms, ſet him down upon a tree, and laid down by him; then ſtood and looked at him, as any one would look at a ſtrange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then laid down upon the ground, and ſtroaked his legs, and kiſſed them, and then got up again, and ſtared at him: one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh to ſee how the next day his paſſion ran out another way. In the morning he walked along the ſhore, to-and-again, with his father, ſeveral hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now and then would come to fetch ſomething or other for him to the boat, either a lump of ſugar, or a dram, a biſcuit, or ſomething or other that was good. In the afternoon his follies ran another way; for then he would ſet the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thouſand antick poſtures and geſtures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one ſtory or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In ſhort, if the ſame filial affection was to be found in Chriſtians to their parents, in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to ſay, there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digreſſion. I return to my landing. It would be endleſs to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The firſt Spaniard, whom as I ſaid, I knew very well, was

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he whoſe life I ſaved. He came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce alſo; and he did not only not know me at firſt, but he had no thoughts, no notion of its being me that was come, till I ſpoke to him. 'Signior (ſaid I), in Portugueze 'do you not know me?' At which he ſpoke not a word; but, giving his muſquet to the man that was with him, extended his arms, and ſaying ſomething in Spaniſh, that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me, telling me he was inexcuſeable not to know that face again, that he had once ſeen, as of an angel from heaven, ſent to ſave his life. He ſaid abundance of very handſome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the perſon that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then aſked me, if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me poſſeſſion of my own houſe again, and where I ſhould ſee there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but alas! I could no more find the place again, than if I had never been there; for they had planted ſo many trees, and placed them in ſuch a poſture, ſo thick and cloſe to one another, in ten years time they were grown ſo big, that in ſhort, the place was inacceſſible except by ſuch windings and blind ways as they themſelves only who made them could find.

I aſked them what put them upon all theſe fortifications. He told me, I would ſay there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had paſſed their time ſince their arriving in the iſland, eſpecially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me he could not but have ſome pleaſure in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ſhip, and to my ſatisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a ſtrong perſuaſion, that one time or other he ſhould ſee me again. But nothing that ever befel him in his life, he ſaid, was ſo ſurprizing and afflicting to him at firſt, as the diſappointment he was under when he came back to the iſland, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (ſo he called them) that were left behind, and of whom, he ſaid, he had a long ſtory to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themſelves much better among the ſavages, only that there number was ſo ſmall. 'And,' ſays he, 'had they been ſtrong 'enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory!' And with that he croſſed himſelf upon the breaſt. 'But, 'Sir,' ſays he, 'I hope you will not be diſpleaſed, 'when I ſhall tell you how, forced by neceſſity, we were 'obliged, for our own preſervation, to diſarm them, 'and make them our ſubjects, who would not be con-'tent with being moderately our maſters, but would 'be our murderers.' I anſwered, I was greatly afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the iſland, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in poſſeſſion of every thing firſt, and left the others in a ſtate of ſubjection, as they deſerved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and ſhould be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of miſchief.

While I was ſaying this, came the man whom he had ſent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dreſs they were in, it was impoſſible to gueſs what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. Firſt, he turned to me, and pointing to them, ſaid—'Theſe, Sir, are ſome of them of the gen-'tlemen who owe their lives to you.' And then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been ſailors and ordinary fellows, and the like, but really as if they had been ambaſſadors or noblemen, and I a monarch or a great conqueror. Their behaviour was to the laſt degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majeſtic gravity, which very well became them; and, in ſhort, they had ſo much more manners than I, that I ſcarce knew how to

receive their civilities, much leſs how to return them in kind.

The hiſtory of their coming to, and conduct in the iſland, after my going away, is ſo remarkable, and has ſo many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to underſtand, and which will, in moſt of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of thoſe that come after me.

I ſhall no longer protract the ſtory with a relation in the firſt perſon, which will put me to the expence of ten thouſand *ſaid I's*, and *ſaid he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I ſhall collect the facts hiſtorically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my converſing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this ſuccinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I muſt go back to the circumſtances in which I left the iſland, and which the perſons were in of whom I am to ſpeak. At firſt it is neceſſary to repeat, that I had ſent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whoſe lives I had reſcued from the ſavages; I ſay, I had ſent them away in a large canoe to the main (as I then thought it) to fetch over the Spaniards companions whom he had left behind him, in order to ſave them from the like calamity that he had been in; and in order to ſuccour them for the preſent, and that, if poſſible, we might together find ſome way for our deliverance afterwards.

When I ſent them away I had no viſible appearance of, or the leaſt room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much leſs had I any foreknowledge of what after happened; I mean of an Engliſh ſhip coming aſhore there to fetch them off; and it could not but be a very great ſurprize to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three ſtrangers left on the ſpot, poſ-

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ſeſſed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwiſe have been their own.

The firſt thing, however, which I enquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I deſired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I ſent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather and a ſmooth ſea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he ſaid, but that they were overjoyed to ſee him: (it ſeems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the veſſel they had been ſhipwrecked in having been dead ſome time.) They were, he ſaid, the more ſurprized to ſee him, becauſe they knew he was fallen into the hands of ſavages, who, they were ſatisfied, would devour him, as they did all the reſt of their priſoners: that when he told them the ſtory of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furniſhed for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their aſtoniſhment, they ſaid, was ſomething like that of Joſeph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and related the ſtory of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court. But when he ſhewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the proviſions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were reſtored to themſelves, took a juſt ſhare of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their firſt buſineſs was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to ſtick ſo much upon the honeſt part of it, but to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, and to borrow two large canoes or periaguas, on pretence of going out a fiſhing or for pleaſure.

In theſe they came away the next morning. It ſeems they wanted no time to get themſelves ready, for they had no baggage, neither cloaths nor proviſions, nor any thing in the world but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they uſed to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks abſent; and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occaſion offered for my eſcape, as I mentioned before, and to get off from the iſland; leaving three of the moſt impudent, hardened, ungovernable, diſagreeable villains, behind me, that any man could deſire to meet with, to the poor Spaniard's great grief and diſappointment, you may be ſure.

The only juſt thing the rogues did, was that when the Spaniards came on ſhore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them proviſions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; alſo they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did; all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom underſtood Engliſh well enough; nor did they refuſe to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing elſe, for they agreed very well for ſome time; they gave them an equal admiſſion into the houſe or cave, and they began to live very ſociably; and the head Spaniard, who had ſeen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; for, as for the Engliſhmen, they did nothing but ramble about the iſland, ſhoot parrots, and catch tortoiſes, and when they came home at night the Spaniards provided their ſuppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been ſatisfied with this, would the others but have let them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themſelves, and would not let others eat neither. The differences, nevertheleſs, were at firſt but trivial, and ſuch as are not worth relating; but at laſt it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeneſs and inſolence that can be imagined, without reaſon, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to com-

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mon ſenſe; and though it is true, the firſt relation of it came from the Spaniards themſelves, whom I may call the accuſers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I muſt ſupply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to ſet down among the reſt, that, juſt as we were weighing anchor to ſet ſail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ſhip, which I was afraid once would turn to a ſecond mutiny; nor was it appeaſed, till the captain, rouzing up his courage, and taking us all to his aſſiſtance, parted them by force, and making two of the moſt refractory fellows priſoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former diſorders, and let fall ſome dangerous words the ſecond time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny and running away with the ſhip.

This it ſeems, though the captian did not intend to do it, frighted ſome other men in the ſhip; and ſome of them had put it into the heads of the reſt, that the captain only gave them good words for the preſent, till they ſhould come to ſome Engliſh port, and that then they ſhould be all put into a gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was deſired that I, who ſtill paſſed for a great man among them, ſhould go down with the mate, and ſatisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be aſſured, if they behaved well the reſt of the voyage, all they had done for the time paſt ſhould be pardoned. So I went; and after paſſing my honour's word to them, they appeared eaſy; and the more ſo, when I cauſed the two men, who had been laid in irons, to be releaſed and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind alſo falling calm. Next morning, we found that our two men who had been laid in irons, had ſtole each of them a muſket, and ſome other weapons; what powder or ſhot they had, we knew not; and had

taken the ſhip's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on ſhore.

As ſoon as we found this, I ordered the long boat on ſhore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to ſeek the rogues; but they could neither find them nor any of the reſt, for they all fled into the woods when they ſaw the boat coming on ſhore. The mate was once reſolved in juſtice to their roguery, to have deſtroyed their plantations, burnt all their houſhold ſtuff and furniture, and left them to ſhift without it; but having no order, he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

Theſe two men made their number five; but the other three villains were ſo much more wicked than theſe, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to ſhift for themſelves; and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for ſome time, be perſuaded to give them any food. As for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came firſt on ſhore, the buſineſs began to go forward; the Spaniards would have perſuaded the three Engliſh brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that as they ſaid, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it. So the two poor fellows lived by themſelves; and, finding nothing but induſtry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north ſhore of the iſland, but a little more to the weſt, to be out of the danger of the ſavages, who always landed on the eaſt parts of the iſland.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and ſtores in; and the Spaniards having given them ſome corn for ſeed, eſpecially ſome of the peas which I had left them, they dug, and planted, and incloſed, after the pattern I had ſet for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their firſt

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crop of corn was on the ground; and, though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at firſt, having had but a ſhort time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and furniſh them with bread and other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ſhip, was very ready at making ſoup, puddings, and ſuch other preparations, as the rice and milk, and ſuch little fleſh as they got, furniſhed him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving way, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to inſult them, came and bullied them, and told them the iſland was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them poſſeſſion of it, and nobody elſe had any right to it; and damn them, they ſhould build no houſes upon their ground, unleſs they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jeſted at firſt: and aſked them to come and ſit down, and ſee what fine houſes they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded. And one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the cuſtom of all landlords, grant them a long leaſe, and bid them go fetch a ſcrivener to draw up the writings. One of the three, damning, and raging, told them, they ſhould ſee they were not in jeſt; and going to a little place at a diſtance, where the honeſt men had made a fire to dreſs their victuals, he took a fire-brand, and clapped it to the outſide of their hut, and ſet it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thruſt him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without ſome difficulty.

The fellow was in ſuch a rage at the honeſt man's thruſting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, ſeeing the danger

ger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muſkets; and the man that was firſt ſtruck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down who began the quarrel, with the ſtock of his muſket, and that before the other two could come to help him: and then ſeeing the reſt come at them, they ſtood together, and preſenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them ſtand off.

The others had fire-arms with them; but one of the two honeſt men bolder than his comrade, and made deſperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were all dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but, ſeeing him reſolute, it brought them to a parley, and they conſented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and, indeed, it ſeems the fellow was wounded ſufficiently with the blow: however, they were much in the wrong, ſince they had the advantage, that they did not diſarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains ſtudied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them ſome intimation that they did ſo.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the leſſer part of their rogueries; ſuch as treading down their corn, ſhooting three young kids, and a ſhe-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their ſtore; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner; it forced the two men to ſuch a deſperation, that they reſolved to fight them all three the firſt time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they reſolved to go to the caſtle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards ſhould ſtand by to ſee fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Engliſhmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with them.

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It happened that the day before, two of the Spaniards having been in the woods, had ſeen one of the two Engliſhmen, whom, for diſtinction I call the honeſt men, and he had made a ſad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous uſage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and deſtroyed their corn that they had laboured ſo hard to bring forward, and killed their milch-goat and three kids, which was all they had provided for their ſuſtenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not aſſiſt them again, they ſhould be ſtarved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at ſupper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Engliſhmen, in gentle and mannerly terms, and aſked them how they could be ſo cruel, they being harmleſs, inoffenſive fellows, and that they were putting themſelves in a way to ſubſiſt by their labour, and that it had coſt them a great deal of pains to bring things to ſuch perfection as they had.

One of the Engliſhmen returned very briſkly—'What 'had they to do there?' that they came on ſhore without leave; and that they ſhould not plant or build upon the iſland; it was none of their ground. 'Why,' ſays the Spaniard, very calmly, 'Seignior Ingleſe, they muſt not ſtarve!' The Engliſhman replied, like a true rough hewn tarpaulin, they might ſtarve and be damned! they ſhould not plant nor build in that place. 'But 'what muſt they do then, Seignior?' ſays the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned,—'Do! d—n 'them! they ſhould be ſervants, and work for them.' 'But how can you expect that of them? They are not 'bought with your money; you have no right to make 'them ſervants.' The Engliſhman anſwered, the iſland was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themſelves; and with that ſwore by his Maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they ſhould build none upon their land.

'Why, Seignior,' ſays the Spaniard, 'by the ſame

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'rule we muſt be your ſervants too.'—'Aye,' ſays the bold dog, 'and ſo you ſhall too, before we have done 'with you;' mixing two or three G—d damme's in the proper intervals of his ſpeech. The Spaniard only ſmiled at that, and made him no anſwer. However, this little diſcourſe had heated them; and ſtarting up, one ſays to the other, (I think it was he they called Will Atkins)—'Come Jack, let us go and have t'other 'bruſh with them: We'll demoliſh their caſtle, I'll 'warrant you; they ſhall plant no colony in our do 'minions.'

Upon this, they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a piſtol and a ſword; and muttered ſome inſolent things among themſelves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it ſeems, did not ſo perfectly underſtand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Engliſhmens parts.

Whither they went, or how they beſtowed their time that evening, the Spaniards ſaid they did not know; but it ſeems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I uſed to call my bower, they were weary, and overſlept themſelves. The caſe was this: they had reſolved to ſtay till midnight, and ſo to take the poor men when they were aſleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to ſet fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out. And as malice ſeldom ſleeps very ſound, it was ſtrange they ſhould not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had alſo a deſign upon them, as I have ſaid, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither, and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it ſeems was the forwardeſt man, called out to his comrades—'Ha, Jack! here's the neſt; but,

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'd—n them, the birds are flown.' They mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation: they did not set fire, indeed, to any thing, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected houshold stuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men found afterwards, some of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; tore up the inclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three: so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet; for, as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again. We shall see their different conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys

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at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, ſays to him—'And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, ſhall have 'the ſame ſauce, if you do not mend your manners.' The Spaniard, who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could be deſired to be, and withal a ſtrong well-made man, looked ſteadily at him for ſome time; and then, having no weapon in his hand, ſtepped gravely up to him, and, with one blow of his fiſt, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-ax; at which one of the rogues, inſolent as the firſt, fired his piſtol at the Spaniard immediately; he miſſed his body, indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe that he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into ſome heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now reſolving to go through with his work, he ſtooped, and took the fellow's muſket whom he had knocked down, and was juſt going to ſhoot the man who had fired at him; when the reſt of the Spaniards being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to ſhoot, they ſtepped in, ſecured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus diſarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and, giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards conſidering the feud that was between them and the other two Engliſhmen, and that it would be the beſt method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to aſſiſt and aſſociate with them as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared ſo reſolved to do miſchief with them to their own contrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their ſervants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reaſon

than to act reaſon; but being refuſed their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms. But the Spaniards deſpiſing their threatening, told them they ſhould take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for, if they did, they would ſhoot them, as they would do ravenous beaſts, wherever they found them; and, if they fell into their hands alive, they would certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, ſwearing and raging like furies of hell. As ſoon as they were gone, came back the two men, in paſſion and rage enough alſo, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demoliſhed and deſtroyed, as above, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed they had provocation enough: they could ſcarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were ſo eager to tell them their's; and it was ſtrange enough to find, that three men ſhould thus bully nineteen, and receive no puniſhment at all.

The Spaniards, indeed, deſpiſed them, and eſpecially having thus diſarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Engliſhmen reſolved to have their remedy againſt them, what pains ſoever it coſt to find them out.

But the Spaniards interpoſed here too, and told them that they were already diſarmed; they could not conſent that they (the two) ſhould purſue them with fire arms, and perhaps kill them: 'But,' ſaid the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, 'we will endeavour to make them do you juſtice, if you will leave it to us; for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their paſſion is over, being not able to ſubſiſt without 'our aſſiſtance, we promiſe you to make no peace with 'them, without having a full ſatisfaction for you; and 'upon this condition, we hope you will promiſe to uſe 'no violence with them, other than in your defence.'

The two Engliſhmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards proteſted, they did it only to keep them from bloodſhed, and to make all eaſy at laſt: 'for,' ſaid they, 'we are not

'so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and 'it is great pity we should not be all good friends.' At length they did consent, and waited for the issue, living for some days with the Spaniards, for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles eggs all the time, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive and humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly but told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them, (the Spaniards) that they could not come to any conclusion, without consulting the two Englishmen and the rest; but, however, they would go to them and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed, that they were very hard put to it; for it seems, as they were to wait half an hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the mean time; which he did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a broiled parrot; which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole, the Spaniards acted as moderators between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be of the same dimensions, and the other larger than they were before; also to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it; and

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in a word, to reſtore every thing to the ſame ſtate as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the ſeaſon for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges not being poſſible to be recovered.

They all ſubmitted to this; and as they had plenty of proviſions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole ſociety began to live pleaſantly and agreeably together again; only theſe three fellows could never be perſuaded to work; I mean, not for themſelves, except now and then a little, juſt as they pleaſed: however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live ſociably and friendly together, and ſtudy on the whol the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleaſed; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and alſo liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had theſe arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as inſolent and troubleſome as before; however, an accident happened preſently upon this, which endangered the ſafety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private reſentments, and look to the preſervation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniſh governor, as I call him, that is to ſay, the Spaniard whoſe life I had ſaved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the reſt, found himſelf very uneaſy in the night, and could by no means get any ſleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the ſtory, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any ſleep; in ſhort, he lay a great while; but, growing more and more uneaſy, he reſolved to riſe. As they ſlept, being ſo many of them, upon goat-ſkins, laid thick upon ſuch couches and pads as they made for themſelves, and not in hammocks and ſhip-beds, as I did, who was but one; ſo they had lit-

tle to do when they were willing to riſe, but to get upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, ſuch as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could ſee little or nothing; and beſides, the trees which I had planted, as deſcribed in my former account, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his ſight, ſo that he could only look up, and ſee that it was a clear ſtar-light night; and hearing no noiſe, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not ſleep, nor could he compoſe himſelf to reſt, but his thoughts were to the laſt degree uneaſy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made ſome noiſe with riſing and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked and aſked who it was that was up. The governor told him how it had been with him. 'Say you ſo?' ſays the other Spaniard; 'ſuch things are not to be ſlighted, I 'aſſure you; there is certainly ſome miſchief working,' ſays he, 'near us.' And preſently he aſked him—'Where are the Engliſhmen?'—'They are all in their 'huts,' ſays he, 'ſafe enough.' It ſeems, the Spaniards had poſſeſſion of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Engliſhmen, ſince their laſt mutiny, always quartered by themſelves, and could not come at the reſt. 'Well,' ſays the Spaniard, 'there is ſomething in it, I am perſuaded from my own 'experience; I am ſatisfied our ſpirits embodied have 'converſe with, and receive intelligence from, the ſpirits 'unembodied, and inhabiting the inviſible world; and 'this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we 'know how to make uſe of it. Come,' ſays he, 'let 'us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at 'all in it to juſtify our trouble, I'll tell you a ſtory to 'the purpoſe, that ſhall convince you of the juſtice of 'my propoſing it.'

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I uſed to go; but they, being ſtrong, and in

good

good company, not alone, as I was, uſed none of my precautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up to a ſecond ſtage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned, and unwary, when they were ſurprized at ſeeing a light, as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the diſcoveries I had made of the ſavages landing on the iſland, it was my conſtant care to prevent them making the leaſt diſcovery of their being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any neceſſity, they came to know it, they felt it ſo effectually, that thoſe who got away were ſcarce able to give any account of it, for we diſappeared as ſoon as poſſible; nor did ever any that had ſeen me, eſcape to tell any one elſe, except it were the three ſavages in our laſt encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned, that I was afraid they ſhould go home and bring more help.

Whether it was the conſequence of the eſcape of theſe men, that ſo great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly and by accident, on their uſual bloody errand, the Spaniards could not, it ſeems, underſtand: but whatever it was, it had been their buſineſs either to have concealed themſelves, and not have ſeen them at all; much leſs to have let the ſavages have ſeen that there were any inhabitants in the place; but to have fallen upon them ſo effectually, as that not a man of them ſhould have eſcaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this preſence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt, but that the governor and the man with him, ſurprized at this ſight, ran back immediately and raiſed their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impoſſible to perſuade them to ſtay cloſe within where they were, but they muſt all run out to ſee how things ſtood.

While it was dark, indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for ſome hours, t view them by the light of three fires they had made at ſome diſtance from one another. What they were doing they knew not, and what to do for themſelves they knew not; for, firſt, the enemy were too many; and, ſecondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into ſeveral parties, and were on ſhore in ſeveral places.

The Spaniards were in no ſmall conſternation at this ſight, and as they found that the fellows ran ſtraggling all over the ſhore, they made no doubt but firſt or laſt ſome of them would find their habitation, or diſcover ſome other place, where they would ſee the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity alſo for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little leſs than ſtarving them, if they ſhould have been deſtroyed; ſo the firſt thing they reſolved upon was, to diſpatch three men away, before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Engliſhman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itſelf.

Could they have ſeen the ſavages all together in one body, and at a diſtance from their canoes, they reſolved if there had been a hundred of them, to have attacked them: but that could not be obtained, for they were ſome of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having muſed a great while on the courſe they ſhould take, and racking their brains in conſidering their preſent circumſtances, they reſolved at laſt, while it was dark, to ſend the old ſavage, (Friday's father) out as a ſpy, to learn, if poſſible, ſomething concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like. The old man readily undertook it, and ſtripping himſelf quite naked, as moſt of the ſavages were, away he went: after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiſcovered; that he

found

found they were two parties, and of two ſeveral nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both ſides having had ſeveral priſoners taken in the fight, they were, by mere chance landed in the ſame iſland, for the devouring their priſoners, and making merry; but their coming ſo by chance to the ſame place, had ſpoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were ſo near, that he believed they would fight again as ſoon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the iſland but themſelves. He had hardly made an end of telling the ſtory, when they could perceive, by the unuſual noiſe they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father uſed all the arguments he could to perſuade our people to lie cloſe, and not be ſeen; he told them, their ſafety conſiſted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie ſtill, and the ſavages would kill one another to their hands, and the reſt would go away; and it was ſo to a tittle. But it was impoſſible to prevail, eſpecially upon the Engliſhmen; their curioſity was ſo importunate for the event, that they muſt run out and ſee the battle. However, they uſed ſome caution, viz. they did not go openly, juſt by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themſelves to advantage, where they might ſecurely ſee them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be ſeen by them; but, it ſeems, the ſavages did ſee them, as we ſhall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce; and if I might believe the Engliſhmen, one of them ſaid, he could perceive that ſome of them were men of great bravery, of invincible ſpirits, and of great policy in managing the fight. The battle, they ſaid, held two hours, before they could gueſs which party would be beaten: but that party which was neareſt our people's habitation, began to appear weakeſt, and after ſome time more, ſome of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great

conſternation,

conſternation, leſt any of thoſe that fled ſhould run into the grove before their dwelling for ſhelter, and thereby involuntarily diſcover the place; and that by conſequence the purſuers ſhould do the like in ſearch of them. Upon this they reſolved, that they would ſtand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they ſhould ſally out over the wall and kill them; ſo that, if poſſible, not one ſhould return to give an account of it. They ordered alſo, that it ſhould be done with their ſwords, or by knocking them down with the ſtock of the muſket, not by ſhooting them, for fear of raiſing an alarm by the noiſe.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life and croſſing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the leaſt knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for ſhelter: the ſcout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great ſatisfaction, viz. that the conquerors had not purſued them, or ſeen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spaniſh governor, a man of humanity, would not ſuffer them to kill the three fugitives; but, ſending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and coming in behind them, ſurprize and take them priſoners, which was done; the reſidue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to ſea; the victors retired, and made no purſuit, or very little; but drawing themſelves into a body together, gave two great ſcreaming ſhouts, which they ſuppoſed were by way of triumph, and ſo the fight ended: and the ſame day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they alſo marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their iſland again free to themſelves, their fright was over, and they ſaw no ſavages for ſeveral years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den; and viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty dead men upon the ſpot; ſome were killed with great long arrows, ſeveral of which were found ſticking in their bodies; but moſt of them

were

were killed with their great wooden ſwords, ſixteen or ſeventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. Theſe ſwords were great unwieldy weapons, and they muſt be very ſtrong men that uſed them. Moſt of thoſe men that were killed, had their heads maſhed to pieces, as we may ſay, or as we may call it in Engliſh, their brains knocked out and ſeveral of their arms and legs broken; ſo that it is evident they fight with inexpreſſible rage and fury. They found not one wounded man that was not ſtone dead; for either they ſtay by their enemy till they have quite killed him, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Engliſhmen for a great while: the ſight had filled them with ſorrow, and the conſequence appeared terrible to the laſt degree, eſpecially upon ſuppoſing that ſome time or other they ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe creatures; who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they profeſſed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was ſuppoſed it was not to be till they were dead, had ſomething in it ſo horrible, that it nauſeated their very ſtomachs, made them ſick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unuſual terror, that they were not themſelves for ſome weeks after.

This, as I ſaid, tamed even the three Engliſh brutes I have been ſpeaking of; and for a great while after they were very tractable, and went about the common buſineſs of the whole ſociety well enough; planted, ſowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but ſome time after this, they fell all into ſuch ſimple meaſures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three priſoners, as I have obſerved; and theſe three being luſty ſtout young fellows, they made them ſervants, and taught them to work for them, and as ſlaves, they did well enough; but they did not

take

take measures with them as I did by my man Friday; viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instructed them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage, and affectionate arguments; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends, (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them) they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived, that they should not remove their habitation; because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I would be sure to direct them on that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough. However, upon second thoughts, they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there, and so, if one part was de-

ſtroyed, the other might be ſaved. One piece of prudence they uſed, which it was very well they did, viz. that they had never truſted theſe three ſavages, which they had taken priſoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much leſs of the cave, which they kept in caſe of neceſſity, as a ſafe retreat: and thither they carried alſo the two barrels of powder, which I had ſent them at my coming away.

But, however, they reſolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it firſt with a wall of fortification, and then with a grove of trees; ſo, ſeeing their ſafety conſiſted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they ſet to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before. To this purpoſe, as I had planted trees (or rather thruſt in ſtakes, which in time all grew to be trees) for ſome good diſtance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the ſame manner, and filled up the reſt of that whole ſpace of ground, from the trees I had ſet, quite down to the ſide of the creek, where, as I ſaid, I landed my floats, and even into the very ouze where the tide flowed, not ſo much as leaving any place to land, or any ſign that there had been any landing thereabout. Theſe ſtakes alſo, being of a wood very forward to grow, they took care to have generally much larger and taller than thoſe which I had planted, and placed them ſo very thick and cloſe, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any conſiderable way into the plantation. As for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed ſo many other ſhort ones, and ſo thick, that it ſtood like a palliſado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impoſſible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they ſtood ſo cloſe.

But this was not all; for they did the ſame by all

the ground to the right-hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill; leaving no way, not ſo much as for themſelves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the ſide of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the firſt ſtage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to aſſiſt it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived: nor was it leſs than what they afterwards found occaſion for; which ſerved to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of Providence to juſtify it, ſo it has, doubtleſs, the direction of Providence to ſet it to work; and, would we liſten carefully to the voice of it, I am fully perſuaded we might prevent many of the diſaſters which our lives are now by our own negligence ſubjected to.

To return to the ſtory. They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more viſits from the ſavages; they had, indeed, an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great conſternation; for, ſome of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the weſt ſide, or rather end of the iſland, which was that end where I never went, for fear of being diſcovered, they were ſurpriſed with ſeeing about twenty canoes of Indians juſt coming on ſhore.

They made the beſt of their way home, and giving the alarm to their comrades, kept cloſe all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make obſervation. But they had the good luck to be miſtaken; for wherever the ſavages went, they did not land at that time on the iſland, but purſued ſome other deſign.

And now they had another broil with the three Engliſhmen; one of which, a moſt turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three ſlaves, which they had taken, becauſe the fellow had not done ſomething right which he bid him do, and ſeemed a little untractable in his ſhewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog belt, in which he wore it by his ſide, and fell upon the poor

ſavage

ſavage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, ſeeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but ſtruck it into his ſhoulder, ſo that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and intreating him not to murdur the poor man, ſtept in between him and the ſavage, to prevent the miſchief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, ſtruck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and ſwore he would ſerve him as he intended to ſerve the ſavage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a ſhovel, which he had in his hand, (for they were working in the field about their corn-land) knocked the brute down; another of the Engliſhmen, running at the ſame time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Engliſhman fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third Engliſhman; he had one of my old ruſty cutlaſſes, with which he made at the laſt Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray ſet the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Engliſhmen priſoners. The next queſtion was, What ſhould be done with them? They had been ſo often mutinous, and were ſo furious, ſo deſperate and ſo idle withal, that that they knew not what courſe to take with them, for they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; ſo that in ſhort, it was not ſafe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor, told them, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them all; for all laws, and all governors, were to preſerve ſociety; and thoſe who were dangerous to the ſociety, ought to be expelled out of it: but, as they were Engliſhmen, and it was to the generous kindneſs of an Engliſhman that they all owed their preſervation and deliverance, he would uſe them with all poſſible lenity, and leave them to the judgment of

the other two Engliſhmen, who were their countrymen. One of the two honeſt Engliſhmen ſtood up, and ſaid, they deſired it might not be left to them: 'For (ſays he) Iam ſure we ought to ſentence them to the gallows.' And with that gave an account, how Will Atkins, one of the three, had propoſed to have all the five Engliſhmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were aſleep.

When the Spaniſh governor heard this he calls to Will Atkins. 'How, Seignior Atkins, (ſays he) 'will you murder us all! What have you to ſay to 'that?' That hardened villain was ſo far from denying it, that he ſaid it was true; and G—d damn him, they would do it ſtill before they had done with them. 'Well, but Seignior Atkins, (ſaid the Spaniard) what 'have we done to you, that you will kill us? And what 'would you get by killing us? And what muſt we do to 'prevent your killing us? Muſt we kill you, or will you 'kill us? Why will you put us to the neceſſity of this, 'Seignior Atkins?' ſays the Spaniard calmly, and ſmiling.

Seignior Atkins was in ſuch a rage at the Spaniard's making a jeſt of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained conduct obliged them to conſider ſeriouſly what was to be done. The two Engliſhmen, and the Spaniard who ſaved the poor ſavage, were of the opinion, that they ſhould hang one of the three for an example to the reſt; and that particularly it ſhould be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet; and indeed there was ſome reaſon to believe he had done it, for the poor ſavage was in ſuch a miſerable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard ſtill ſaid, no, it was an Engliſhman that had ſaved all their lives, and he would never conſent to put an Engliſhman to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he ſaid, if he had

been

been killed himſelf by an Engliſhman, and had time left to ſpeak, it ſhould be, that they ſhould pardon him.

This was ſo poſitively inſiſted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no reſiſting it; and, as merciful counſels are moſt apt to prevail, where they are ſo earneſtly preſſed, ſo they all came into it; but then it was to be conſidered, what ſhould be done to keep them from the miſchief they deſigned; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be uſed for preſerving the ſociety from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, Firſt, That they ſhould be diſarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or ſhot, or ſword, or any weapon, and ſhould be turned out of the ſociety, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themſelves; but that none of the reſt, either Spaniards or Engliſh, ſhould converſe, or have any thing to do with them; that they ſhould be forbid to come within a certain diſtance of the place where the reſt dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any diſorder, ſo as to ſpoil, burn, kill, or deſtroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the ſociety, that they ſhould die without mercy, and they ſhould ſhoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, muſing upon the ſentence, conſidered a little upon it; and, turning to the two honeſt Engliſhmen, ſaid,—'Hold! you muſt 'reflect, that it will be long ere they can raiſe corn 'and cattle of their own, and they muſt not ſtarve; we 'muſt therefore allow them proviſions.' So he cauſed to be added, That they ſhould have a proportion of corn given to them to laſt them eight months, and for ſeed to ſow, by which time they might be ſuppoſed to raiſe ſome of their own; that they ſhould have ſix milch-goats, four he-goats, and ſix kids given them, as well for preſent ſubſiſtence, as for a ſtore; and that they ſhould have tools given them for their work in the field; ſuch as, ſix hatchets, an ax, a ſaw, and the like: but they ſhould have none of theſe tools or proviſions, unleſs they would ſwear

ſolemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Engliſhmen.

Thus they diſmiſſed them the ſociety, and turned them out to ſhift for themſelves. They went away ſullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away, or to ſtay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and chuſe a place where they ſhould ſettle themſelves, to plant, and live by themſelves; and ſome proviſions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for ſome victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themſelves out a habitation or plantation. It was a very convenient place, indeed, on the remoteſt part of the iſland, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my firſt voyage, when I was driven out to ſea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my fooliſh attempt to ſurround the iſland.

Here they built themſelves two handſome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my firſt habitation, being cloſe under the ſide of a hill, having ſome trees growing already to the three ſides of it; ſo that by planting others, it would be very eaſily covered from the ſight, unleſs narrowly ſearched for. They deſired ſome dry goat-ſkins for beds and covering, which were given them; and, upon their giving their words that they would not diſturb the reſt, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could ſpare: ſome peas, barley, and rice, for ſowing; and, in a word, any thing they wanted, but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this ſeparate condition about ſix months, and had got in their firſt harveſt, though the quantity was but ſmall, the parcel of land they planted being but little; for, indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and ſuch things, they were quite out of their element, and could

make

make nothing of it; and when the rainy ſeaſon came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of ſpoiling: and this humbled them much; ſo they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did; and in four days worked a great hole in the ſide of the hill for them, large enough to ſecure their corn and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place at beſt, compared to mine; and eſpecially as mine was then; for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made ſeveral new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this ſeparation, a new frolic ſeized theſe rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought miſchief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new aſſociates began, it ſeems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumſtances, and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the ſavages came, and would try if they could not ſeize upon ſome priſoners among the natives there, and bring them home, ſo as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not ſo prepoſterous had they gone no farther; but they did nothing, and propoſed nothing, but what had either miſchief in the deſign, or miſchief in the event: and, if I may give my opinion, they ſeemed to be under a judgment from Heaven; for if we will not allow a viſible curſe to purſue viſible crimes, how ſhall we reconcile the events of things with Divine Juſtice? It was, certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the ſtate they were in; and as they ſhewed not the leaſt remorſe for the crime, but added new villainies to it, ſuch as, particularly, that piece of monſtrous cruelty of wounding a poor ſlave, becauſe he did not, or perhaps could not, underſtand to do what he was directed; and to wound him in ſuch a manner, as made him a cripple all his life; and in a place where no ſurgeon

or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was ſtill worſe, the murderous intent; or, to do juſtice to the crime, the intentional murder; for ſuch to be ſure it was, as was afterwards the formed deſign they all laid, to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their ſleep.

But to return to the ſtory. The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms deſired to be admitted to ſpeak with them. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to ſay, which was this: that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the neceſſaries they wanted; and that, having no help they found they ſhould be ſtarved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes that they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main and ſeek their fortune, and ſo free them from the trouble of ſupplying them with any other proviſions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them, but yet very honeſtly repreſented to them the certain deſtruction they were running into; told them, they had ſuffered ſuch hardſhips upon that very ſpot, that they could, without any ſpirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be ſtarved or murdered; and bade them conſider of it.

The men replied audaciouſly, they ſhould be ſtarved if they ſtaid here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be ſtarved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in ſhort, inſiſted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or not.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindneſs, that if they were reſolved to go, they ſhould not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themſelves; and that though they could ill ſpare their fire-

arms,

arms, having not enough for themſelves, yet they could let them have two muſquets, a piſtol, and a cutlaſs, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was ſufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to ſerve them a month, and given them as much goats-fleſh as they could eat while it was ſweet, and a great baſket full of dried grapes, a pot full of freſh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly ſet out in a canoe for a voyage over the ſea, where it was at leaſt forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men; and therefore was rather too big for them to manage: but as they had a fair breeze, and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a maſt of a long pole, and a ſail of four large goat-ſkins dried, which they had ſewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough. The Spaniards called after them, '*Bon veajo!*' and no man ever thought of ſeeing them more.

The Spaniards would often ſay to one another, and the two honeſt Engliſhmen who remained behind, how quiet and comfortably they lived now thoſe three turbulent fellows were gone. As for their ever coming again, that was the remoteſt thing from their thoughts that could be imagined: when behold! after twenty-two days abſence, one of the Engliſhmen being abroad upon his planting work, ſaw three ſtrange men coming towards him at a diſtance, two of them with guns upon their ſhoulders.

Away ran the Engliſhman as if he was bewitched, and came frighted and amazed to the governor Spaniard, telling them they were all undone, forthere were ſtrangers landed upon the iſland, he could not tell who. The Spaniard pauſing a-while, ſaid to him,—'How do you 'mean you cannot tell who? They are ſavages, to be 'ſure.'—'No, no,' ſays the Engliſhman, 'they are 'men in cloaths with arms.'—Nay, then,' ſays the Spaniard, 'why are you concerned; If they are not

'ſavages'

'savages they must be friends; for there is no Chris-
'tian nation upon earth but will do us good rather
'than harm.'

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood, which was new planted, hallooed to them. They presently knew their voices; and so all wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question; viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again.

It was not long before they brought the men in; and enquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing; they gave them a full account of their voyage, in a few words, viz. That they reached the land in two days, or something less; but, finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island; that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand, north, and several more west; and, being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and enquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way; who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men's but as for themselves, they said that they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then they owned, that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

Then

The Engliſhmen enquired, when they had a feaſt of that kind. They told them, two moons ago, pointing to the moon and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred priſoners now, which he had taken in his war, and that they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feaſt. The Engliſhmen ſeemed mighty deſirous to ſee thoſe priſoners; but the others, miſtaking them, thought they were deſirous to have ſome of them, to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the ſetting of the ſun, and then to the riſing, which was to ſignify, that the next morning, at ſun-riſing, they would bring ſome for them: and, accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Engliſhmen, to carry with them on their voyage, juſt as we would bring ſo many cows and oxen down to a ſea-port town to victual a ſhip.

As brutiſh and barbarous as theſe fellows were at home, their ſtomachs turned at this ſight, and they did not know what to do: to refuſe the priſoners would have been the higheſt affront to the ſavage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not; however, upon ſome debate, they reſolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the ſavages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets; which, though they did not underſtand, they ſeemed extremely pleaſed with: and then, tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the priſoners into the boat for our men.

The Engliſhmen were obliged to come away as ſoon as they had them, or elſe they that gave them this noble preſent would certainly have expected that they ſhould have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave, with all the reſpect and thanks that could well paſs between people, where, on either ſide, they underſtood not one word they could

ſay,

ſay, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the firſt iſland; where, when they arrived, they ſet eight of their priſoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occaſion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have ſome communication with their priſoners; but it was impoſſible to make them underſtand any thing; nothing they could ſay to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them. They firſt of all unbound them; but the poor creatures ſcreamed at that, eſpecially the women, as if they had juſt felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpoſe to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the ſame thing: then they concluded it was for fear they ſhould ſink in fleſh, and ſo not be fat enough to kill; if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party preſently concluded, it was to ſee whether he or ſhe was fatteſt and fitteſt to kill firſt; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to uſe them kindly, and treat them well, ſtill they expected every day to make a dinner or ſupper for their new maſters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable hiſtory or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard aſked them where their new family was; and being told that they had brought them on ſhore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg ſome victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Engliſhmen, that is to ſay the whole colony, reſolved to go down to the place, and ſee them; they accordingly did ſo, and took Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they ſat all bound; for when they had brought them on ſhore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their eſcape; there, I ſay they ſat, all of them ſtark-naked. Firſt, there were three men, luſty, comely fellows, well-ſhaped, ſtraight, and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty; two more

not

not above twenty-four or twenty-five; and the fifth a tall, comely maiden, about ſixteen or ſeventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable perſons, both in ſhape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfectly white, would have paſſed for handſome women, even in London itſelf, having very pleaſant agreeable countenances, and of a very modeſt behaviour, eſpecially when they came afterwards to be cloathed, and dreſſed, as they call it, though that dreſs was very indifferent it muſt be confeſſed; of which hereafter.

The ſight, you may be ſure was ſomething uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a juſt character) men of the beſt behaviour, of the moſt calm, ſedate tempers, and perfect good-humour, that ever I met with; and, in particular, were poſſeſſed of a great ſhare of modeſty: I ſay, the ſight was very uncouth, to ſee two naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the moſt miſerable cicumſtances that human nature could be ſuppoſed to be; expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The firſt thing they did, was to cauſe the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and ſee firſt if he knew any of them, and then if he underſtood any of their ſpeech. As ſoon as the old man came in, he looked ſeriouſly at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them underſtand a word he ſaid, or a ſign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to anſwer the end, which was to ſatisfy them, that the men into whoſe hands they were fallen were Chriſtians; that they abhorred eating men or women, and that they might be ſure they would not be killed. As ſoon as they were aſſured of this, they diſcovered ſuch a joy, and by ſuch aukward and various ways, as is hard to deſcribe; for it ſeems they were of ſeveral nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in

the next place, to aſk them if they were willing to be ſervants, and to work for the men who had brought them away to ſave their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and preſently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their ſhoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them, would preſently be attended with ſome inconvenience, and might occaſion ſome ſtrife, and perhaps blood, aſked the three men what they intended to do with theſe women, and how they propoſed to uſe them, whether as ſervants, or as women. One of the Engliſhmen anſwered very boldly and readily, that they would uſe them as both. To which the governor ſaid, —'I am not going to reſtrain you from it; you are 'your own maſters as to that: but this I think is but 'juſt, for avoiding diſorders and quarrels among you, 'and I deſire it of you for that reaſon only; viz. that 'you will all engage, that if any of you take any of 'theſe women, as a woman or wife, he ſhall take but 'one; and that, having taken one, none elſe ſhall touch 'her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet it 'is but reaſonable, that while you ſtay here, the woman 'any of you takes, ſhould be maintained by the man 'who takes her, and ſhould be his wife; I mean,' ſays he, 'while he continues here; and that none elſe ſhould 'have any thing to do with her.' All this appeared ſo juſt, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Engliſhmen aſked the Spaniards, if they deſigned to take any of them. But every one anſwered, 'No.' Some of them ſaid they had wives in Spain, and others did not like women that were not Chriſtians; and altogether declared that they would not touch one of them; which was an inſtance of ſuch virtue, as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be ſhort, the five Engliſhmen took them every one a wife; that is to ſay a temporary wife; and ſo they ſet up a new form of living; for the

Spaniards

Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within; the three ſervants, which they had taken in the late battle of the ſavages, lived with them; and theſe carried on the main part of the colony, ſupplying all the reſt with food, and aſſiſting them with any thing as they could, or as they found neceſſity required.

But the wonder of this ſtory was, how five ſuch refractory ill-matched fellows ſhould agree about theſe women, and that two of them ſhould not pitch upon the ſame woman, eſpecially ſeeing two or three of them were without compariſon, more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves; for they ſet the five women by themſelves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who ſhould chuſe firſt.

He that drew to chuſe firſt, went away by himſelf to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he choſe; and it was worth obſerving, that he that choſe firſt, took her that was reckoned the homelieſt and uglieſt of the five, which made mirth enough among the reſt; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow conſidered better than any of them, that it was application and buſineſs that they were to expect aſſiſtance in, as much as any thing elſe; and ſhe proved the beſt wife among them.

When the poor women ſaw themſelves ſet in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured. Accordingly, when the Engliſh ſailor came in and fetched out one of them, the reſt ſet up a moſt lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with ſuch agonies, and ſuch affection, as would have grieved the hardeſt heart in the world; nor was it poſſible for the Engliſhmen to ſatisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who inſtantly let them know, that the

five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had choſen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in, was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for thoſe they had already were crouded with their tools, houſhold-ſtuff and proviſions: the three wicked ones had pitched fartheſt off, and the two honeſt ones nearer, but both on the north-ſhore of the iſland, ſo that they continued ſeparate as before: and thus my iſland was peopled in three places; and, as I might ſay, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth obſerving, that, as it often happens in the world, (what the wiſe ends of God's Providence are in ſuch a diſpoſition of things, I cannot ſay) the two honeſt fellows had the two worſt wives; and the three reprobates, that were ſcarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither ſeemed born to do themſelves good, or any one elſe, had three decent, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two firſt were ill wives as to their temper or humour, for all the five were moſt willing, quiet, paſſive, and ſubjected creatures, rather like ſlaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or induſtrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another obſervation I muſt make, to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the diſgrace of a ſlothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the ſeveral improvements, planting, and management of the ſeveral little colonies, the two men had ſo far outgone the three, that there was no compariſon. They had, indeed, both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reaſon was, becauſe, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpoſe to ſow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed of every thing elſe, was eaſy to be ſeen at firſt view.

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The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place, nothing was to be ſeen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demoliſhed, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as will be ſhewn in its proper place, yet they had reſtored all again, and every thing was flouriſhing and thriving about them; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themſelves never ſeen any thing of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. Thay had alſo found themſelves a retreat in the thickeſt part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found; yet they made one with inceſſant labour of their hands, and where, when the miſchief which followed happened, they ſecured their wives and children, ſo as they could never be found; they having, by ſticking innumerable ſtakes and poles of the wood, which as I ſaid, grew ſo eaſily, made a grove impaſſable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outſide part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I juſtly call them, though they were much civilized by their new ſettlement, compared to what they were before, and were not ſo quarrelſome, having not the ſame opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleneſs. It is true they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: 'I went 'by the vineyard of the ſlothful, and it was all over-'grown with thorns.' For when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not ſee it in ſome places for weeds; the hedge had ſeveral gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead buſh was crammed in, to ſtop them out for the preſent; but it was only ſhutting the ſtable-door after the ſteed was ſtolen: whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was

the very face of induſtry and ſucceſs upon all they did, there was not a weed to be ſeen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and, they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: 'That the diligent hand maketh rich.' For every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utenſils and neceſſaries within doors, and yet more pleaſure and diverſion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and, having learned the Engliſh ways of dreſſing and cooking from one of the other Engliſhmen, who, as I ſaid, was a cooke's mate on board the ſhip, they dreſſed their huſband's victuals very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to underſtand it; but then the huſband, who, as I ſaid, had been cook's mate, did it himſelf. But as for the huſbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtle eggs, and caught fiſh and birds: in a word, any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the ſlothful lived hard and beggarly; and ſo I believe, generally ſpeaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a ſcene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; the original of the ſtory was this—

Early one morning there came on ſhore five or ſix canoes of Indians, or ſavages, call them what you pleaſe; and there is no room to doubt, that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their ſlaves: but that part was now ſo familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themſelves about it as I did; but, having been made ſenſible by their experience, that their only buſineſs was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not ſeen by any of the ſavages, they would go off again quietly when their buſineſs was done, having as yet not the leaſt notion of there being inhabitants in the iſland; I ſay, having been made ſenſible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to

all

all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to ſhew themſelves; only placing a ſcout in a ſecure place, to give notice when the boats went off to ſea again.

This was without doubt very right; but a diſaſter ſpoiled all theſe meaſures, and made it known among the ſavages, that there were inhabitants there; which was, in the end, the deſolation of almoſt the whole colony. After the canoes with the ſavages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and ſome of them had the curioſity to go to the place where they had been, to ſee what they had been doing. Here, to their great ſurprize, they found three ſavages left behind, and lying faſt aſleep upon the ground; it was ſuppoſed they had either been ſo gorged with their inhuman feaſt, that, like beaſts, they were aſleep, and would not ſtir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly ſurpriſed at this ſight, and perfectly at a loſs what to do. The Spaniſh governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was aſked; but he profeſſed he knew not what to do. As for ſlaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of ſhedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no juſt quarrel againſt them to take away their lives.

And here I muſt, in juſtice to theſe Spaniards, obſerve, that let all the accounts of Spaniſh cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with ſeventeen men, of any nation whatſoever, in any foreign country, who were ſo univerſally modeſt, temperate, virtuous, ſo very good humoured, and ſo courteous, as theſe Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous paſſions, and yet all of them men of great courage and ſpirit.

Their temper and calmneſs had appeared, in their bearing the unſufferable uſage of the three Engliſhmen; and their juſtice and humanity appeared now in the caſe of the ſavages, as above. After ſome conſultation, they reſolved upon this, that they would lie ſtill awhile longer, till, if poſſible, theſe three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected that the three ſavages had no boat, and that, if they were left to rove about the iſland, they would certainly diſcover that there were inhabitants in it; and ſo they ſhould be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows faſt aſleep ſtill: ſo they reſolved to awaken them and take them priſoners; and they did ſo. The poor fellows were ſtrangely frighted when they were ſeized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they ſhould be murdured and eaten; for it ſeems, thoſe people think all the world do as they do, eating men's fleſh, but they were ſoon made eaſy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them, that they did not carry them home to their caſtle; I mean, to my palace under the hill; but they carried them firſt to the bower, where was the chief of their country-work; ſuch as keeping the goats, planting the corn, &c. and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Engliſhmen.

Here they were ſet to work, though it was not much they had for them to do. And, whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themſelves, I know not, but one of them ran away; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reaſon to believe he got home again ſoon after, in ſome other boats or canoes of ſavages, who came on ſhore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as uſual, went off again in two days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without

good cauſe indeed, that if this fellow got ſafe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the iſland, as alſo how weak and few they were; for this ſavage, as I obſerved before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived; nor had he ever ſeen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much leſs had they ſhewn him any other of their retired places, ſuch as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Engliſhmen had made, and the like.

The firſt teſtimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, ſix canoes of ſavages, with about ſeven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north-ſide of the iſland, where they never uſed to come before, and landed about an hour after ſun-riſe, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Engliſhmen, where this eſcaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor ſaid, had they been all there, the damage would not have been ſo much, for not a man of them would have eſcaped; the caſe differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds. The two men had the happineſs to diſcover them about a league off, ſo that it was above an hour before they landed; and, as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was ſome time before they could come at them. Now having great reaſon to believe that they were betrayed, the firſt thing they did was to bind the ſlaves which were left, and cauſe two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who, it ſeems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them to their retired place in the woods, which I have ſpoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, ſeeing the ſavages were all come on ſhore, and that they bent their courſe directly that

way

way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to ſtraggle into the wood, whither they pleaſed, that the ſavages might think they were all bred wild: but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place.

When the two poor frighted men had ſecured their wives and goods, they ſent the other ſlave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place, by accident, away to the Spaniards, with all ſpeed, to give them the alarm, and deſire ſpeedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were ſent, keeping at a diſtance; yet ſo that they might ſee, if poſſible, which way the ſavages took.

They had not gone far, when, from a riſing ground, they could ſee the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, could ſee all their huts and houſhold-ſtuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loſs, and to them irretrieveable, at leaſt for ſome time. They kept their ſtation for awhile, till they found the ſavages, like wild beaſts, ſpread themſelves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in ſearch for prey; and in particular, for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Engliſhmen ſeeing this, thinking themſelves not ſecure where they ſtood, becauſe, as it was likely ſome of the wild people might come that way, ſo they might come too many together; thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they ſtrolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick-grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a

tree

tree ſtood, which was hollow, and very large; and in this tree they both took their ſtanding, reſolving to ſee what might offer.

They had hot ſtood here long, when two of the ſavages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already notice where they ſtood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther, they eſpied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the ſame way; beſides which, they ſaw ſeven or eight more at a diſtance, running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like ſportſmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they ſhould ſtand and keep their poſture, or fly: but after a very ſhort debate with themſelves, they conſidered that if the ſavages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be loſt; ſo they reſolved to ſtand them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themſelves, (fire excepted) as long as their ammunition laſted, though all the ſavages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having reſolved upon this, they next conſidered whether they ſhould fire at the two firſt, or wait for the three, and take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be ſeparated. At length they reſolved to let the firſt two paſs by, unleſs they ſhould eſpy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two firſt ſavages alſo confirmed them in this reſolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Engliſhmen were there.

Seeing them come ſo ſtraight towards them, they reſolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they reſolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the firſt ſhot might hit them all three; to which purpoſe, the man

who

who was to fire, put three or four bullets into his piece; and, having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a ſure aim, without being ſeen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, ſo that he could not miſs.

While they were thus waiting, and the ſavages came on, they plainly ſaw that one of the three was the run-away that had eſcaped from them, and they both knew him diſtinctly, and reſolved that, if poſſible, he ſhould not eſcape, though they ſhould both fire; ſo the other ſtood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the firſt ſhot he ſhould be ſure to have a ſecond.

But the firſt was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for as the ſavages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly. The foremoſt was killed outright, being ſhot in the head; the ſecond, which was the run-away Indian, was ſhot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little ſcratch in the ſhoulder, perhaps by the ſame ball that went through the body of the ſecond; and being dreadfully frighted, though not much hurt, ſat down upon the ground, ſcreaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noiſe than ſenſible of their danger, ſtood ſtill at firſt; for the woods made the ſound a thouſand times louder than it really was; the echoes rattling from one ſide to the other, and the fowls riſing from all parts, ſcreaming and making ſeveral kinds of noiſe, according to their kind, juſt as it was when I fired the firſt gun that, perhaps, was ever ſhot off in that place ſince it was an iſland.

However all being ſilent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miſerable enough: and here the poor ignorant creatures, not ſenſible that they were within reach of the ſame miſchief, ſtood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and as may be ſuppoſed, enquiring of

him

him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods had killed those two and wounded him. This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, and had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as ever heard of one; neither knew any thing of killing or wounding at a distance with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe that they would not have stood so unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed or very much wounded four of them; the fifth, frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprize when they came to the place and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all. This obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets, and first they made sure of the run-away savage that had been the cause of all the mischief; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all, came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them, by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However

However they made ſigns to him to ſit down at the foot of a tree: and one of the Engliſhmen, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet faſt together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what ſpeed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, ſhould find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives and the few goods they had left lay. They came once in ſight of the two men, but it was at a great diſtance; however, they had the ſatisfaction to ſee them croſs over a valley, towards the ſea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and, being ſatisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their priſoner; who, as they ſuppoſed, was delivered by his comrades, for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay juſt at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what courſe to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what number; ſo they reſolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to ſee if all was well there, and to make them eaſy, who were in fright enough to be ſure; for though the ſavages were their own country-folk, yet they were moſt terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more from the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the ſavages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it; for indeed it was inacceſſible, by the trees ſtanding ſo thick, as before, unleſs the perſons ſeeking it had been directed by thoſe who knew it, which theſe were not; they found, therefore, every thing very ſafe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort of ſeven of the Spaniards coming to their aſſiſtance; the other ten with their ſervants, and old Friday, (I mean, Friday's father) were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in caſe the

ſavages

ſavages ſhould have rowed over to that ſide of the country; but they did not ſpread ſo far. With the ſeven Spaniards came one of the ſavages; who, as I ſaid, were their priſoners formerly; and with them alſo came the ſavage whom the Engliſhmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree: for, it ſeems, they came that way, ſaw the ſlaughter of the ſeven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others who were left when the third ran away.

The priſoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were ſo afraid of their eſcaping, that they thought they were under an abſolute neceſſity to kill them for their own preſervation: however, the Spaniard governor would not conſent to it; but ordered that they ſhould be ſent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there with two Spaniards to guard them and give them food: which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Engliſhmen were ſo encouraged, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves to ſtay any longer there; but, taking five of the Spaniards and themſelves, with four muſquets and a piſtol among them, and two ſtout quarter-ſtaves, away they went in queſt of the ſavages. And firſt, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was eaſy to ſee that ſome more of the ſavages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to the firſt riſing ground, where they had ſtood and ſeen their camp deſtroyed, and where they had the mortification ſtill to ſee ſome of the ſmoke; but neither could they here ſee any of the ſavages. They then reſolved, though with all poſſible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation: but, a little before they arrived thither, coming in ſight of the ſea-ſhore, they ſaw plainly the ſavages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They ſeemed ſorry, at firſt, that there was no way to come at them, to given them a parting blow; but, upon the whole, were very well ſatisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Engliſhmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements deſtroyed, the reſt all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to aſſiſt them with needful ſupplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the leaſt inclination to do any good; as ſoon as they heard of it, (for they, living remote eaſtward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and aſſiſtance; and did very friendly work for ſeveral days to reſtore their habitations, and make neceſſaries for them: and thus, in a little time, they were ſet upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther ſatisfaction of ſeeing three of the ſavages canoes come driving on ſhore, and at ſome diſtance from them, with two drowned men, by which they had reaſon to believe, that they had met with a ſtorm at ſea, which had overſet ſome of them; for it had blown very hard the night after they went off.

However, as ſome might miſcarry; ſo, on the other hand, enough of them eſcaped to inform the reſt as well of what they had done, as of what happened to them, and to ſpirit them on to another enterprize of the ſame nature; which they, it ſeems, reſolved to attempt, with ſufficient force to carry all before them: for except what the firſt man had told them of the inhabitants, they could ſay little to it of their own knowledge, for they never ſaw one man; and, the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witneſs to confirm it.

It was five or ſix months after this before they heard any more of the ſavages; in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better: when, on a ſudden they were invaded by a moſt formidable fleet of no leſs than twenty-eight canoes full of ſavages.

with

As the ſavages came on ſhore in the evening, and at the eaſtermoſt ſide of the iſland, our men had that night to conſult and conſider what to do; and, in the firſt place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only ſafety before, and would much more be ſo now, while the number of their enemies was ſo great; they therefore reſolved, firſt of all, to take down the huts, which were built for the two Engliſhmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; becauſe they ſuppoſed the ſavages would go directly thither, as ſoon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I call it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in ſhort, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as poſſible; and the next morning early they poſted themſelves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they gueſſed, ſo it happened: theſe new invaders, leaving their canoes at the eaſt end of the iſland, came ranging along the ſhore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but ſmall indeed; but that which was worſe, they had no arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it ſeems, ſtood thus. Firſt, as to men—

| | |
|---|---|
| 17 | Spaniards. |
| 5 | Engliſhmen. |
| 1 | Old Friday, or Friday's father. |
| 3 | Slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful. |
| 3 | Other ſlaves, who lived with the Spaniards. |
| 29 | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 11 | Muſkets. |
| 5 | Piſtols. |
| 3 | Fowling-pieces. |
| 5 | Muſkets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous ſeamen whom I reduced. |
| 2 | Swords. |
| 3 | Old halberts. |
| 29 | |

To arm theſe, they had

To their ſlaves they did not give either muſket or fuſil; but they had every one an halbert, or a long ſtaff, like a quarter-ſtaff, with a great ſpike of iron faſtened into each end of it, and by his ſide a hatchet; alſo every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the ſavages when the firſt action happen d.

The Spaniard governor, commanded the whole; and William Atkins, who, was moſt daring and bold, commanded under him. The ſavages came forward like lions; and our men, which was the worſt of their fate, had no advantage in their ſituation: only that Will Atkins, who now proved a moſt uſeful fellow, with ſix men, was planted juſt behind a ſmall thicket of buſhes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the firſt of paſs by, and then fire into the middle of them; and as ſoon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and ſo come in behind the Spaniards where they ſtood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the ſavages came on, they ran ſtraggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order; and Will Atkins let about fifty of them paſs by him; then ſeeing the reſt come in a very thick throng, he ordered three of his men to fire, having loaded their muſkets with ſix or ſeven bullets apiece, about as big as large piſtol bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not; but the conſternation and ſurprize was inexpreſſible among the ſavages, who were frighted to the laſt degree, to hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, and ſee their men killed, and others hurt, but ſee no body that did it: when, in the middle of their fright, William Atkins, and his other three, let fly again among the thickeſt of them; and, in leſs than a minute, the firſt three being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as ſoon as they had fired, as they were ordered

to

to do, or had the reſt of the body been at hand, to have poured in their ſhot continually, the ſavages had been effectually routed: for the terror that was among them came principally from this: viz. that they were killed by the gods of thunder and lightning, and could ſee nobody that hurt them; but William Atkins, ſtaying to load again, diſcovered the cheat. Some of the ſavages who were at a diſtance, ſpying them, came upon them behind; and, though Atkins and his men fired at them alſo two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as faſt as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himſelf, and killed one of his fellow Engliſhmen with their arrows; as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian ſlaves who came with the women. This ſlave was a moſt gallant fellow, and fought moſt deſperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed ſtaves and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard put to it, Atkins wounded and two other men killed, retreated to a riſing ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated alſo: for their number was ſo great, and they were ſo deſperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than ſo many wounded, yet they came on in the face of our men, fearleſs of danger, and ſhot their arrows like a cloud; and it was obſerved, that their wounded men, who were not quite diſabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Engliſhman that were killed behind them; and the ſavages, when they came up to them, mangled their bodies in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden ſwords, like true ſavages. But, finding our men were gone, they did not ſeem to purſue them, but drew themſelves up into a kind of a ring, which is, it ſeems, their cuſtom; and ſhouted twice, in token of their victory. After which, they had the mortification to ſee ſeveral of

their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loſs of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a riſing ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, perſuaded him to march and charge them again all together at once. But the Spaniard replied—'Seignior Atkins, you ſee how their wounded men 'fight; let them alone till morning: all theſe wounded 'men will be ſtiff and ſore with their wounds, and faint 'with the loſs of blood; and ſo we ſhall have the fewer 'to engage.'

The advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily—'That's true, Seignior, and ſo ſhall I too; and 'that's the reaſon I would go on while I am warm.' 'Well, Seignior Atkins, (ſays the Spaniard) you have 'behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight 'for you, if you cannot come on: but I think it beſt 'to ſtay till morning.' This was agreed to.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the ſavages in great diſorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noiſe among them where they lay, they afterwards reſolved to fall upon them in the night, eſpecially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were diſcovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Engliſhmen, in whoſe quarter it was where the fight began, led them round, between the woods and the ſea-ſide, weſtward, and turning ſhort ſouth, they came ſo near where the thickeſt of them lay, that before they were ſeen or heard, eight of them fired in among them and did dreadful execution upon them: in half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their ſmall ſhot in ſuch a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to ſee who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again, with the utmoſt expedition, and then divided themſelves into three bodies, and reſolved to fall in among them all together. They had in each body eight perſons; that is to ſay, twenty four;

four; whereof were twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire arms equally in each party, and also the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back, but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the face of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together. They would have fought if they had seen us; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. Our men, however, gave them no time; but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets, and laid about them so forcibly, that in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about one hundred and eighty of them. The rest, being frighted out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed and fear that nimble feet could help them to do; and, as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea to the shore, so that it was impossible for them to put off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men though glad of their victory, yet got little

reſt that night; but having refreſhed themſelves as well as they could, they reſolved to march to that part of the iſland where the ſavages were fled, and ſee what poſture they were in. This neceſſarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found ſeveral of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet paſt recovering life: a ſight diſagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to deſtroy his enemy, takes no delight in his miſery.

However, there was no need to give any order in this caſe; for their own ſavages who were their ſervants diſpatched thoſe poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miſerable remains of the ſavages army lay, where there appeared about one hundred ſtill; their poſture was generally ſitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and their head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two muſket-ſhot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muſkets to be fired without ball, to alarm them. This he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect; viz. whether they were ſtill in heart to fight, or were ſo heartily beaten, as to be diſpirited and diſcouraged, and ſo he might manage accordingly.

This ſtratagem ſucceeded; for as ſoon as the ſavages heard the firſt gun, and ſaw the flaſh of the ſecond, they ſtarted up upon their feet in the greateſt conſternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced ſwiftly towards them, they all ran ſcreaming and yawling away, with a kind of a howling noiſe, which our men did not underſtand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At firſt, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to ſea. But they did not then conſider, that this might probably have been the occaſion of their coming again in ſuch multitudes as not to be reſiſted; or, at leaſt, to come ſo

many

many and ſo often, as would quite deſolate the iſland, and ſtarve them. Will Atkins, therefore, who not withſtanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the beſt counſellor in this caſe. His advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and ſo deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the iſland.

They conſulted long about this, and ſome were againſt it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there deſperate; and ſo they ſhould have them to hunt like wild beaſts, be afraid to ſtir about their buſineſs, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats deſtroyed, and, in ſhort, be reduced to a life of continual diſtreſs.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with one hundred men, than with one hundred nations; that as they muſt deſtroy their boats, ſo they muſt deſtroy the men, or be all of them deſtroyed themſelves. In a word, he ſhewed them the neceſſity of it ſo plainly that they all came into it; ſo they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting ſome dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to ſet ſome of them on fire; but they were ſo wet, that they would ſcarce burn. However, the fire ſo burned the upper part, that it ſoon made them unfit for ſwimming in the ſea as boats. When the Indians ſaw what they were about, ſome of them came running out of the woods; and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down, and cried—'*Oa, oa, waramakoa*' and ſome other words of their language, which none of the others underſtood any thing of: but as they made pitiful geſtures, and ſtrange noiſes, it was eaſy to underſtand, they begged to have their boats ſpared, and that they would be gone, and never come thither again.

But our men were now ſatisfied, that they had no way to preſerve themſelves or to ſave their colony, but effectually to prevent any of theſe people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever ſo much as one of them got back into their country to tell the

ſtory,

ſtory, the colony was undone. So that, letting them know that they ſhould not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and deſtroyed them every one that the ſtorm had not deſtroyed before; at the ſight of which the ſavages raiſed a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the iſland like diſtracted men; ſo that, in a word, our men did not really know at firſt what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, conſider, that while they made thoſe people thus deſperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the ſame time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find their main retreat; (I mean my old caſtle at the hill, not my cave in the valley;) yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot, tore up the vines and grapes, being juſt then almoſt ripe; and did our men an ineſtimable damage, though to themſelves not the ſmalleſt kind of ſervice.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occaſions, yet they were in no condition to purſue them, or hunt them up and down: for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them ſingle, ſo our men durſt not go about ſingle, for fear of being ſurrounded with their numbers.

The extremity and diſtreſs they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable; but, at the ſame time, our men were alſo brought to very hard circumſtances by them; for though their retreats were preſerved, yet their proviſion was deſtroyed, and their harveſt ſpoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themſelves they knew not. The only refuge they had now, was the ſtock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and ſome little corn which grew there. The three Engliſhmen, William Atkins, and his comrades, were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which

ſtruck

ſtruck him on the ſide of his head, juſt under the temple, ſo that he never ſpoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the ſame barbarous fellow who cut the poor ſavage ſlave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

I looked upon their caſe to have been worſe at this time, than mine was at any time after I firſt diſcovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the method of planting and raiſing my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may ſay, a hundred wolves on the iſland, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themſelves.

The firſt thing they concluded, when they ſaw what their circumſtances were, was, that they would, if poſſible drive them up to the farther part of the iſland, ſouth-eaſt, that if any more ſavages came on ſhore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harraſs them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at laſt tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they followed them, and ſo terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and ſo dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of ſight farther and farther; till at laſt our men following them, and every day almoſt killing and wounding ſome of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places ſo much, that it reduced them to the utmoſt miſery for want of wood; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely ſtarved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; eſpecially the Spaniard governor, who was the moſt gentleman like, generous-minded man, that I ever met with in my life: and he propoſed, if poſſible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to underſtand what they meant, ſo far as to be able to act

as

as interpreter, and to go among them, and ſee if they might be brought to ſome conditions, that might be depended upon to ſave their lives and to do us no injury.

It was ſome time before any of them could be taken; but, being weak, and half ſtarved, one of them was at laſt ſuprized, and made a priſoner; he was ſullen at firſt, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himſelf kindly uſed, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him; he at laſt grew tractable, and came to himſelf.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only ſave their lives, but would give them a part of the iſland to live in, provided they would give ſatisfaction, that they ſhould keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others; and that they ſhould have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and ſome bread given them for their preſent ſubſiſtence: and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the reſt of his countrymen, and ſee what they ſaid to it; aſſuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they ſhould all be deſtroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled and reduced in number to about thirty ſeven, cloſed with the propoſal at the firſt offer, and begged to have ſome food given them; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Engliſhmen, well armed, and three Indian ſlaves and old Friday marched to the place where they were. The three Indian ſlaves carried them a large quantity of bread, and ſome rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the ſun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the ſide of a hill, where they ſat down, eat the proviſions very thankfully, and were the moſt faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the iſland, and I went to ſee them.

They

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them. They wanted nothing but wives, and they ſoon would have been a nation. They were confined to a neck of land, ſurrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the ſea before them, on the ſouth-eaſt corner of the iſland. They had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden ſpades, ſuch as I made for myſelf; and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived, the moſt ſubjected, innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, with reſpect to the ſavages, till I came to reviſit them, which was in about two years. Not but that now and then ſome canoes of ſavages came on ſhore for their triumphal unnatural feaſts; but as they were of ſeveral nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of thoſe who came before, or the reaſon of it, they did not make any ſearch or enquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return; at leaſt, that was worth notice. The Indians, or ſavages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, becauſe they would not have their ſettlements betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the ſavages to make wicker-work, or baſkets; but they ſoon out-did their maſters, for they made abundance of moſt ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly, all ſorts of baſkets, ſieves, bird cages, cupboards, &c. as alſo chairs to ſit on, ſtools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at ſuch work when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to theſe people, becauſe we furniſhed them with knives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of theſe tools they were ſo very handy, that they came at laſt to build up their huts or houſes, very handſomely; raddling, or working it up like baſket work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well againſt heat, as well as againſt all ſorts of vermin; and our men were ſo taken with it, that they got the wild ſavages to come and do the like for them; ſo that when I came to ſee the two Engliſhmens colonies, they looked, at a diſtance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very induſtrious, neceſſary, and ſober fellow, he had made himſelf ſuch a tent of baſket-work, as I believe was never ſeen; it was one hundred and twenty paces round on the outſide, as I meaſured by my ſteps; the walls were as cloſe worked as a baſket, in pannels or ſquares, thirty-two in number, and very ſtrong, ſtanding about ſeven feet high: in the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but built ſtronger, being eight ſquare in its form, and in the eight corners, ſtood eight very ſtrong poſts, round the top of which he had laid ſtrong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he laid a pyramid before the roof of eight rafters, very handſomely conſtructed, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron ſpikes which he had made himſelf out of the old iron which I had left there; and, indeed, this fellow ſhewed abundance of ingenuity in ſeveral things which he had no knowledge of: he made himſelf a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himſelf charcoal for his work, and formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but eſpecially, hooks, ſtaples, and ſpikes, bolts and hinges.

The

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles, to the top poſts of the inner-houſe, being about twenty-feet diſtant; ſo that there was a ſpace like a walk, within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided into ſix apartments, ſo that he had ſix rooms on a floor, and out of every one of theſe there was a door; firſt, into the entry or coming into the main tent, and another door into the ſpace or walk that was round it; ſo that this walk was alſo divided into ſix equal parts, which ſerved not only for a retreat, but to ſtore up any neceſſaries which the families had occaſion for. Theſe ſix ſpaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: As ſoon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a ſhort paſſage ſtraight before you to the door of the inner houſe; but on either ſide was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, firſt into a large room or ſtore-houſe, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite ſo long. So that in the outer circle were ten handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and ſerved as cloſets or retired rooms to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouſes or barns, or what you pleaſe to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the paſſage, that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of baſket-work, I believe, was never ſeen in the world; nor an houſe or tent ſo neatly contrived, much leſs ſo built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families; that is to ſay, Will Atkins and his companion; the third was killed but his wife remained with three children; for ſhe was, it ſeems, big with child when he died; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full ſhare of every

thing; I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the ſhore; ſo that they all lived well enough, though, it was true, they were not ſo induſtrious as the other two, as has been obſerved already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them: they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind that there was a God, by the very common method of ſeamen, viz. ſwearing by his name. Nor were their poor ignorant ſavage wives much the better for having been married to Chriſtians, as we muſt call them; for as they knew very little of God themſelves, ſo they were utterly incapable of entering into any diſcourſe with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmoſt of all the improvement which I could ſay the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to ſpeak Engliſh pretty well; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to ſpeak Engliſh too, from their firſt learning to ſpeak, though they at firſt ſpoke it in a very broken manner like their mothers. There were none of theſe children above ſix years old when I came thither; for it was not much above ſeven years that they had fetched theſe five ſavage ladies over; but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or leſs. I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child; and the mothers were all a good ſort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modeſt and decent, helpful to one another, mighty obſervant and ſubject to their maſters, (I cannot call them huſbands) and wanted nothing but to be well inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at leaſt, by the conſequence of my coming among them.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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Jahr: 2

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
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Defoe, Daniel, 1660-1731

The Life And Adventures Of Robinson Crusoe

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